CITY BUDGET CUTS — P4 • MALCOLM X — P21

THE INDYPENDENT

#284: DEC 2023/JAN 2024

Mahmoud Kasem, owner of the Al Aqsa Bakery & Restaurant.

OLGA FEDOROVA

INSIDE LITTLE PALESTINE

IT'S THE CLOSEST THING TO THEIR HOMELAND FOR NYC'S PALESTINIAN DIASPORA

BY LARA-NOUR WALTON — P12

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FOR MORE ON OUR ANNUAL WINTER FUND DRIVE, SEE PAGES 2 & 24

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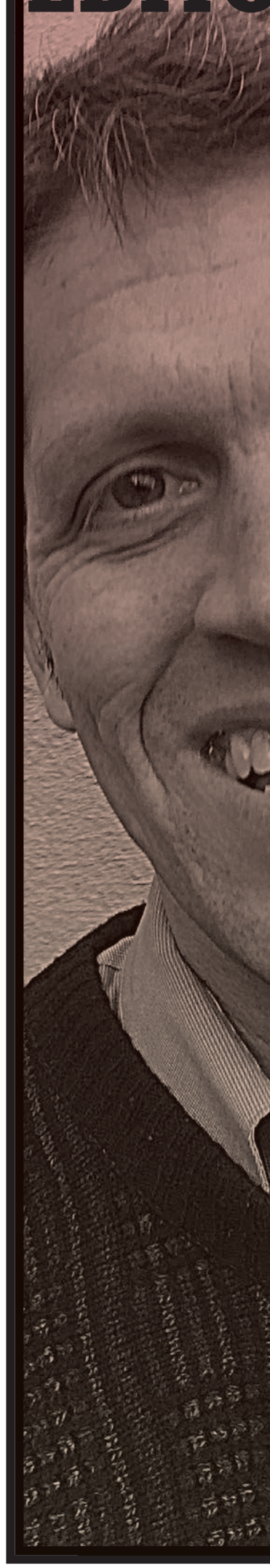

EDITOR'S NOTE

WE WON'T BE CENSORED

IN TIMES LIKE THESE, THE INDY IS NEEDED MORE THAN EVER

The cultural crackdown that began soon after Oct. 7 shows no sign of letting up.

Journalists at major news outlets have been fired, suspended or otherwise sidelined after refusing to abide by the pro-Israel bias across the U.S. news media. In more niche corners of the publishing world, David Velasco, the editor-in-chief of Art Forum, *was sacked after publishing an open staff letter that called for a ceasefire and — how crazy is this? — Michael Eisen, the editor-in-chief of a prestigious science journal, was fired after retweeting an Onion article.*

In Hollywood, actors like Susan Sarandon who speak out against the war risk losing work or being dropped by their talent agencies.

On college campuses, pro-Palestinian student groups are decertified while individual student activists endure doxxing and other forms of harassment. Campus teach-ins and movie screenings are "paused" due to "security concerns." Not that campus bureaucrats will be spared as we saw recently when the presidents of Harvard, MIT and the University of Pennsylvania (all women) were hauled before their congressional inquisitors and made to answer for the tweets of 20-year-old college students.

It's happened before — during the Red Scare of the McCarthy Era and more recently in the inflamed aftermath of 9/11. Here at The Indypendent, *we won't be cowed into silence on Palestine-Israel or anything else. Thanks to the support of readers like yourself, we are free to publish our unique mix of on-the-ground shoe leather reporting, political education and incisive analysis of visionary social movements fighting for a more just and humane world. The only thing that could silence us would be an indifferent response from our readers during our winter fund drive.*

• • •

We don't have the precise recipe for how to solve all the world's problems. But, we do operate this publication on broadly socialist values because:

- *We believe there is more than enough wealth in this world for everyone to live a dignified life, if only it was shared more equitably.*
- *We believe in public institutions that serve the common good and enrich our lives.*
- *We believe that when addressing our greatest societal challenges, we are far more powerful when we act collectively than when we act as individuals.*

The Indy *functions as a public commons itself. We do the work throughout the year — publishing this newspaper, updating our website regularly between issues, hosting a weekly Tuesday evening radio show on WBAI-99.5 FM — and we give it all away for free. Under capitalism, that doesn't make any sense. So call us crazy, but we operate on the assumption that we have enough readers who share our values and who will support us when we ask for help.*

Will you be one of those readers? Our winter fund drive goal this year is $50,000, our largest ask ever. If you have given before, thank you. If you can give again this year and even dig a little deeper, we will be so grateful. If you haven't given before, this is a great time to join the extended community of Indy *supporters and make your first contribution.*

We are mostly volunteers with a small paid staff. We know how to stretch a dollar. But we have to keep the lights on and the presses rolling. And that costs money. If we falter and don't make our fund drive goal, we could be in dire trouble by the spring. Whether you can give $27, $50, $100, $200, $500, $1,000 or more, it all makes a huge difference.

With your help, we look forward to doing more great work in 2024.

In Solidarity,

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
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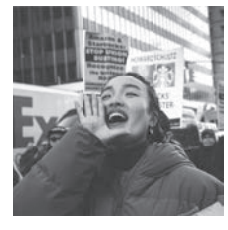

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We do the work all year. Now is the time we need the support of readers like you.

Amy Goodman

Juan González

Nermeen Shaikh

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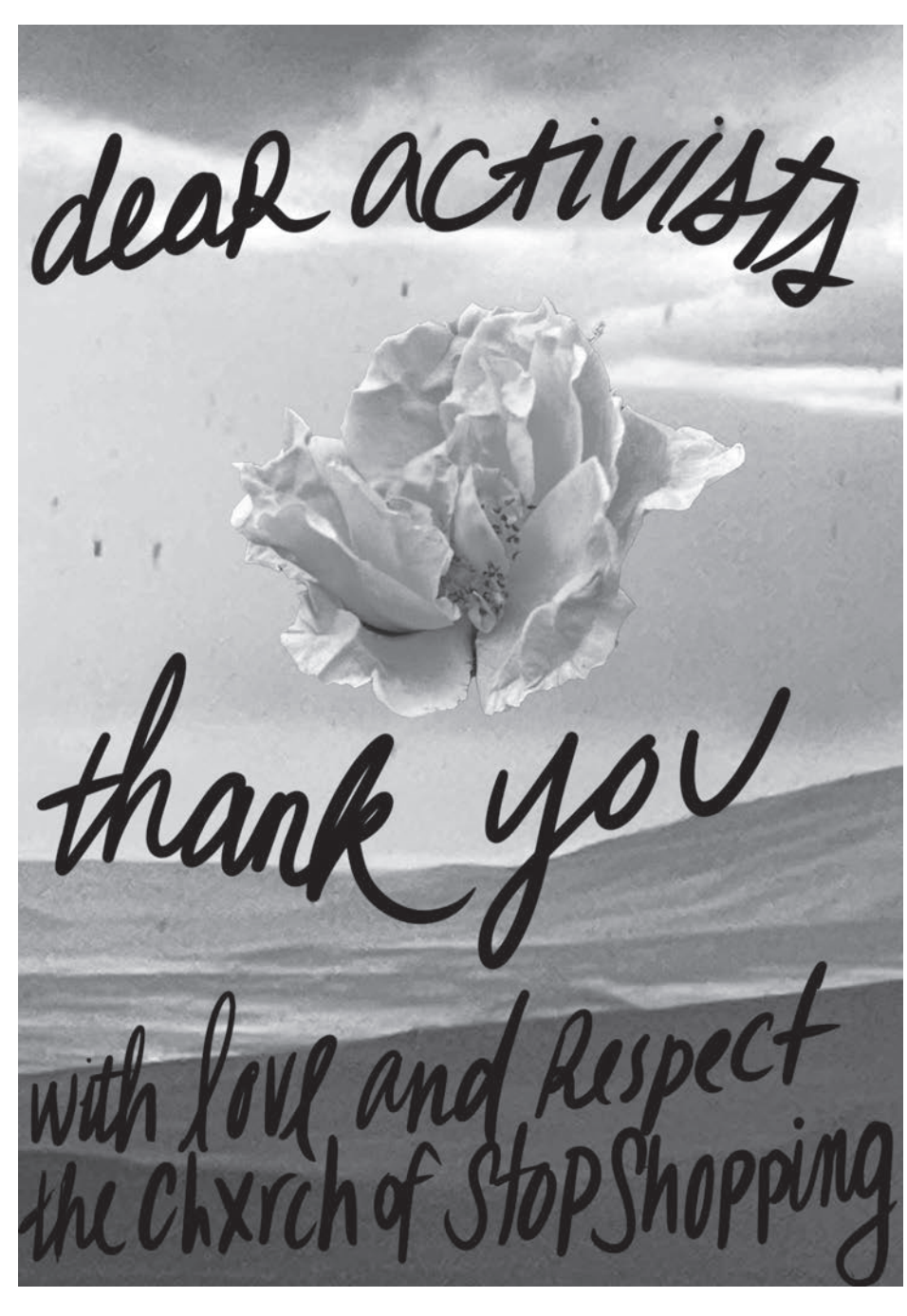


COURTESY

URGENT: *City Councilmember Alexa Aviles (D-Sunset Park) calls on Mayor Eric Adams to reverse his mid-year budget cuts at a Dec. 11 rally near City Hall.*

CITY COUNCIL MUST REJECT MAYOR'S ROGUE BUDGET CUTS

ESSENTIAL CITY SERVICES ARE ON THE LINE

By Brandon West

New Yorkers are particularly concerned with Eric Adams' fifth round of cuts, in the form of 5% mid-year budget cuts to agencies, with another 10% cuts to come by April 2024. The Mayor has unilaterally made these unpopular, devastating cuts to libraries, composting, public schools, CUNY programs and a long list of essential services. These cuts are bad for New Yorkers struggling to afford the basics, bad for a functioning city government and bad for local democracy that excludes working-class and poor New Yorkers from decisions that impact them. But thankfully, the Council has a role to play, and the tools to stop the devastation — if only members have the guts to use them against the mayor's unnecessary and deeply unpopular austerity agenda.

Without getting too far into the weeds, what you need to know is that the fiscal year begins on July 1, and what we are experiencing now are budget modifications or "mods." The budget approved in June is the "adopted budget," but that can be altered and be modified on an ongoing basis over the fiscal year as budgetary needs and conditions change. There are quarterly "financial plans," where many of these mods happen. Changes in revenue projections, agencies needing to move money around or "new needs" popping up can warrant Mods. Modifications require less process and less transparency, so sometimes it's where the mayor can push through increased NYPD spending or other mayoral budget priorities without much input from the public or the City Council.

The mayor is seeking severe across-the-board cuts through this budget modification. Mayor Adams is slashing $1.4 billion from essential and care-based services, which means cutting over 2,000 city jobs. The impacts of these cuts are immediate, and New Yorkers are already feeling their city services shrink. Composting organizations are shuttering their doors, and 120 people with green and clean jobs will be out of work by the new year. Libraries are closing on Sundays. Almost 500 Fire Department jobs will disappear. There will be over $500 million cut from the Department of Education, not including pre-school and 3K cuts.

But the mayor, a retired police captain, did leave two agencies largely unscathed: the NYPD and Department of Corrections (DOC). So, why 15% cuts? There are no projected deficits in the current fiscal year; all of these cuts are to address claims of out-year gaps between revenue and expenses. We are looking at potential 6% gaps for next year, and 8% in 2025 that we would need to fill. But it's already been proven that it is possible to recover from out-year gaps, as the City did not once, but twice in the 2000s.

Outyear gaps and how we deal with them is normally what we do in the traditional budget process that takes place, instead of pushing cuts through the shorter, less-transparent budget modification process. In January, the mayor normally presents a preliminary budget that the Council debates and researches so that in June we finalize it before the new fiscal year. What is happening now is the Mayor is asking to make big changes without the time, information, insight or transparency of a hearing process or cycle. This is unprecedented.

The sensible thing is for City Council to put Mayor Adams' budget modification to a vote, and vote it down, unless the Mayor agrees to halt cuts until the regular FY25 budget process begins, or rolls back cuts to composting, libraries, schools, CUNY, childcare, and essential services and finds further savings in the NYPD and DOC's bloated budgets. City Council can also reject budget modifications if they are of a significant size.

This hasn't happened in a long time — and the Council is not required to vote on a modification; it can pass without action. But if the Council votes down a mod, the mayor can still cut or underspend, like they would in a hiring freeze, but not move money around as easily. This may seem like the Council can't do much. But it can curtail some of the mayor's power as a consequence of him misusing the budget modification process. At the very least, by voting on the budget modification, the Council can demonstrate their co-equal power in the budget process, instead of timidly letting the modification pass without action.

What the City Council shouldn't do is do nothing. The mayor is creating a fiscal crisis and a "migrant crisis" when there is none. Eric Adams is exaggerating the influx of immigration and immigrant-support costs for political gain. The Independent Budget Office reported that the administration had overstated asylum-seeker costs by up to $1.6 billion dollars, and the Fiscal Policy Institute has stated that the Mayor "significantly overstates the fiscal impact of migrant arrivals," naming that proposed budget cuts of $10 billion per year are "billions of dollars higher than the increased cost estimates for asylum seekers."

Yes, the city has gaps in future fiscal years. But there are several contributing factors to the outyear gaps — which the Citizens Budget Commission points out as uniformed overtime, city lawsuits, and new union contracts — ones that the city can overcome like in years past without drastic budget cuts to essential services.

There are a few other things we can do to fill the gaps without gutting city services. First, we can get people out of temporary shelter and into safe and stable homes. Fixing the city's shelter system and housing New Yorkers and immigrants more humanely will actually save money in the long run — instead of the mayor's continued over-reliance on questionable emergency contracts. The mayor has refused to enact the voucher package the City Council passed in July 2023, which would address the bottleneck of moving people out of more costly temporary shelter into cost-effective affordable housing through vouchers. Also, we can undo the hiring freeze at revenue generating agencies, and use some of the city's $8 billion in reserves. We could also ban broker fees and stop paying charter schools' rent, along with a host of other ideas from the Independent Budget Office which can help fill this gap.

The mayor is using a manageable budget deficit as a distraction to his many scandals and to carry out an ideological agenda that translates into favors for rich friends and less than scraps for working-class and poor New Yorkers. The New York City Council can stand with New Yorkers and reject this attempt to force these changes through the mods process and stand up for a city whose services are on the ropes. In a city with the most billionaires in the world, there is no reason we cannot afford world-class schools, abundant libraries, fully-funded CUNY and universal childcare. The mods are no time for far-reaching policy in the form of austerity, and the Council needs to vote it down if they don't get movement on keeping funding for central services that the working class of this city need and rely on.

Brandon West previously worked at the NYC Office of Management and Budget and as a City Council budget analyst. He was an organizer with Occupy City Hall in 2020, ran as a DSA-endorsed City Council candidate in 2021, and currently is on NYC-DSA's Steering Committee .

PAUL FRANGIPANE FOR PSC/CUNY

TIME TO PAY UP: *Assemblymember Zohran Mamdani (D-Queens) speaks at a Dec. 12 press conference outside Columbia University calling for a repeal of the school's property tax exemption.*

NYC BRIEFS

BY INDYPENDENT STAFF

LEGISLATORS LAUNCH BILL TO END $321M TAX BREAKS FOR COLUMBIA & NYU

Two state legislators from Queens have proposed a bill to end property-tax exemptions for private universities that had more than $100 million written off in the last fiscal year. State Sen. John Liu and Assemblymember Zohran Mamdani's measure would use revenue from the cancelled tax breaks to fund the City University of New York. Last year, Columbia University got $179 million and New York University $142 million. "At a time when CUNY faces budget cut after budget cut and is in a constant state of disrepair, Columbia and NYU — two of the largest property holders in New York City — are exempted from paying property taxes," Mamdani said Dec. 12. The legislation faces a complicated path: The State Legislature would have to amend the state constitution in two consecutive sessions, voters would have to approve that amendment and then the Legislature would have to pass a bill to put it into effect.

STATE COURT ORDERS NEW YORK TO REDRAW HOUSE MAP

New York's top court on Dec. 12 ordered the state to redraw its congressional map, voiding the court-ordered districts used in 2022. The Court of Appeals' 4-3 decision held that under the state constitution, districts must be drawn by an independent redistricting commission or the Legislature, and courts can only draw districts for temporary use. In 2022, the court ruled that the 26 districts drawn by the Democratic-controlled Legislature after the redistricting commission deadlocked were unconstitutionally gerrymandered. The map drawn by the upstate judge named as independent special master put several Democratic incumbents, including Manhattan veterans Jerrold Nadler and Carolyn Maloney, into the same districts. That helped Republicans flip four House seats in New York in 2022, crucial to them winning a majority. Republicans say they will likely challenge any 2024 map; it would not take much tinkering to give Democrats an edge in up to six GOP-held districts.

SOCIALISTS LOOKS TO EXPAND ALBANY BLOC FROM 8 TO 11

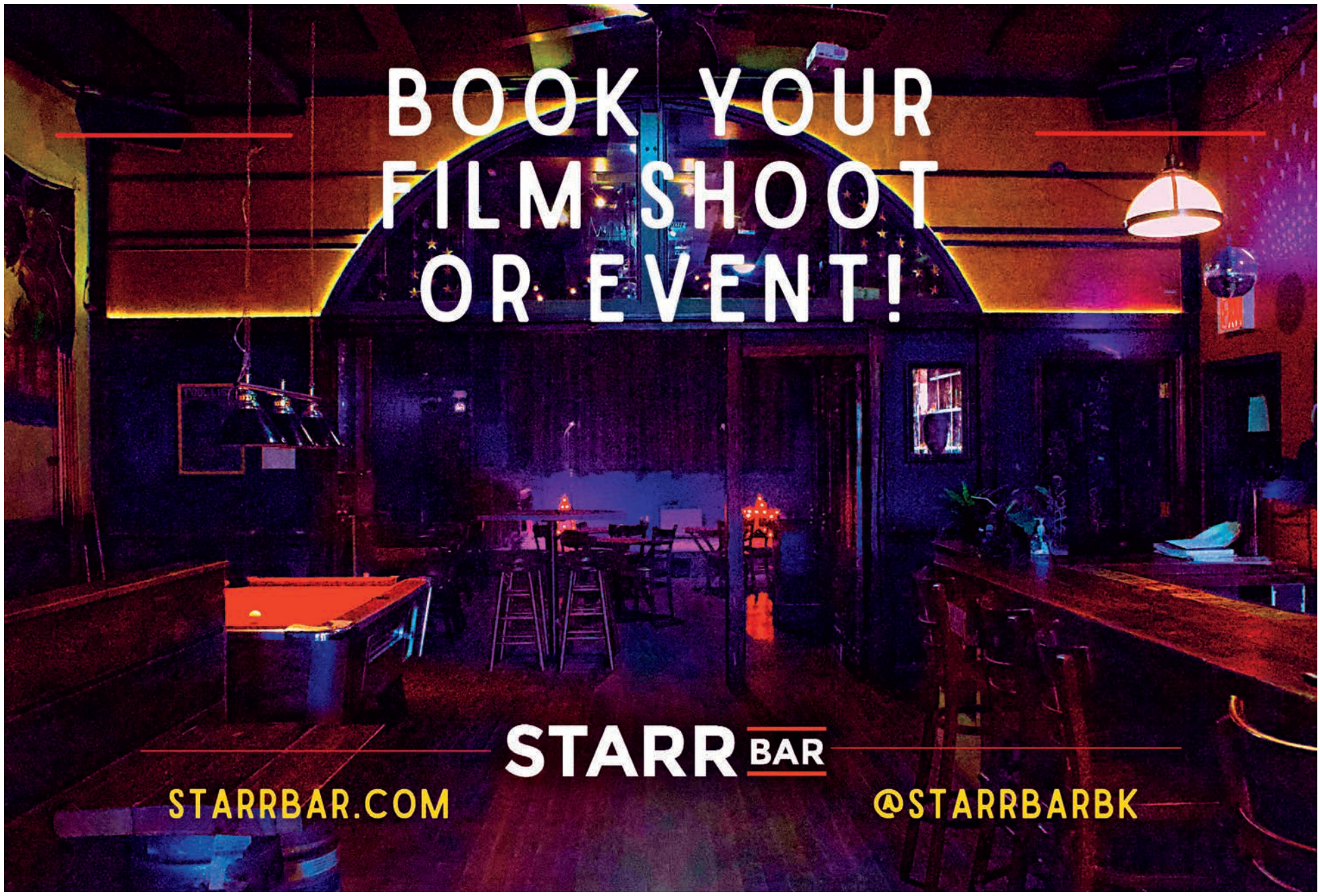
On Dec. 7, The New York City chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) rounded out its slate of challengers to three incumbent state legislators in June's Democratic primaries. The socialist organization currently controls three State Senate seats and five more in the Assembly.

In Assembly District 56 in Central Brooklyn, DSA endorsed Eon Tyrell Huntley, a retail service worker, tenant and PTA president. He will challenge two-term incumbent Stefani Zinererman.

In Assembly District 82 in the Northeast Bronx, DSA-backed education activist and former Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez staffer Jonathan Soto will mount a second challenge to 10-term incumbent Michael Benedetto, who represents what is now a majority-minority district.

In a third race in Assembly District 37 in Western Queens, the DSA had previously endorsed union organizer Claire Valdez. Her opponent, Juan Ardilla, was elected in 2022 with the support of many progressive groups only to have his support crater when two women came forward to allege he had sexually assaulted them.

Both Huntley and Valdez are running in areas where other DSA candidates have won. In 2022, Soto garnered 36% of the vote in his district when he ran without a DSA endorsement. Unlike most organizations that make political endorsements, DSA endorses only a handful of candidates per cycle and focuses all of its resources on those races, including the ability to deploy hundreds of volunteer canvassers in a district.



MOSES JEANFRANCOIS

VICTORY: *Workers at Hex & Company celebrate their vote to unionize which followed more than a year of organizing.*

COMING FULL CIRCLE

RETIRED LABOR ORGANIZERS ADVISE A NEW GENERATION OF UNIONIZING WORKERS

By Keating Zelenke

Debra Bergen remembers the exact date when she first learned about the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee:"November the ninth, 2022."

EWOC was launched in 2020 at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic as a joint project of the Democratic Socialists of America and the UE, a union that dates back to the 1930s. It quickly became a nationwide network of organizers with labor-movement experience who advise and support non-unionized essential workers seeking to take collective action to improve their pay and working conditions.

Two years later, as Bergen was scrolling through Facebook, a video of Amazon Labor Union President Chris Smalls flashed across her screen. Bergen had been involved in the labor movement since she graduated from SUNY New Paltz in 1978. However, after nearly 30 years with the Professional Staff Congress — the union that represents around 30,000 CUNY employees — she retired in 2018. Bergen had spent the years since then pursuing other personal projects, relatively detached from the movement in which she had found purpose for decades.

"With all the organizing that was going on all over the city with Starbucks and Amazon, I was really getting a little antsy," Bergen said of that post-retirement hiatus from labor organizing. "I wanted to get involved." She filled out the volunteer form on EWOC's website and was answering phone calls from workers in no time. Soon she became a support organizer — a veteran labor organizer who oversees other volunteers' campaigns.

Shortly after joining EWOC, Bergen was assigned to support Hex & Company workers, who were fighting to unionize the board-game cafe chain's Union Square location. Employees were underpaid and overworked, some making only $12.50 an hour, crawling their way up to minimum wage through meager tips. Despite this, co-owners Greg May and Jon Freeman refused to voluntarily recognize a union request.

Bergen worked on the Hex & Co. union effort for just about a year, and in November of this year, the employees at the cafe won their union vote by a decisive 50-16 majority.

Since 2015, the popularity of labor unions has skyrocketed, particularly among young employees in the private sector who are increasingly desperate for better conditions and wages. After the initial excitement among young activists begins to settle, uncertainty about what to do tends to set in — that's where seasoned organizers like Bergen come in. Despite the decades that separate her and the young people who are reinvigorating the labor movement, Bergen and other organizers like her are finding a way to bridge the gap through open-minded conversation.

"People are afraid of getting fired for anything. Asking questions, [coming] into work one minute late — everything," Ellen David Friedman said of the current climate in many workplaces. Friedman has been organizing since high school, when an older friend brought her to a United Farm Workers meeting; labor leader Dolores Huerta had come to Friedman's native Long Island to teach activists there about a nationwide boycott of California grapes.

That was in the late 1960s. Officially enamored with anti-capitalism and "the feeling of instrumentality" that organizing gave her, she spent the next few years tracking down her own mentors — former members of the Communist Party who she hoped could teach her about unionizing from an anti-capitalist perspective. During this time, she met with "the founding generation" of labor agitators, like journalist Jane Slaughter and Teamster organizer Ken Paff.

"I would drive into the hills of rural Vermont and just drink coffee and talk with them for hours," Friedman said.

Today, these conversations serve as the foundation for her own mentorship as a prominent labor organizer herself. She worked for 20 years at the Vermont chapter of the National Education Association. And for 10 more years, Friedman and her husband split their time between Guangzhou and Vermont, teaching Chinese workers why they should organize and how they should do it. In 2015, she was expelled from the country by the Chinese Communist Party and has not been able to go back.

When she returned to the United States for good, she planned to officially retire. Those plans changed when she realized the labor movement here was taking off in a way she had never seen before. The energy that young people brought to the table was infectious.

"It is so fabulous," Friedman said as she spoke about working with this new generation. "I can barely contain my exuberance."

Central to Friedman's organizing approach is fostering communication, not just between organizers and workers, but between the workers themselves.

"There's a lot about organizing training that focuses on having your one-on-ones," Friedman said. "And of course you need to [have those conversations]… but if you stop there, you're not going to build power."

OBSTACLES & HOOPS

Organizing coordinator Patrick Cate also applies this philosophy to his work at EWOC. Cate is much younger than Bergen and Friedman, though he's familiar with the power of both retired union staffers and excited young workers. As one of three permanent staff members, he helps manage the nearly 300 volunteer organizers at EWOC, pairing up advanced organizers like Debra Bergen with less-experienced intermediate organizers and workers who know little to nothing about the labor movement, but know they want to unionize.

In order to officially be considered a unionized workplace by the National Labor Relations Board, "the obstacles and hoops you have to jump through are really specific — you have to get 30% [of workers to] petition, you have to get a majority, and there's an election and these dates and none of the system is in workers' favor," Cate explained. "So generally they rely on professional career organizers who know how to work the model."

Like Debra Bergen, Bob Lawson volunteers with EWOC as an advanced organizer. Lawson started out as a construction worker and union member himself — "I still have my dues book," he reflected with a small laugh — before getting involved in the civil rights movement. As part of the Students for a Democratic Society effort to build a multiracial base, he began to mobilize poor white workers in the rural areas outside of Chicago back in 1966. Lawson continued his work in California through the United Farm Workers and later among public-sector workers in Illinois.

"What you learn as an organizer and the connections you make… you [feel] lucky," Lawson said, still a little in awe of the privilege of a lifetime in activism. "I used to do this for free, and now I'm getting paid for this?"

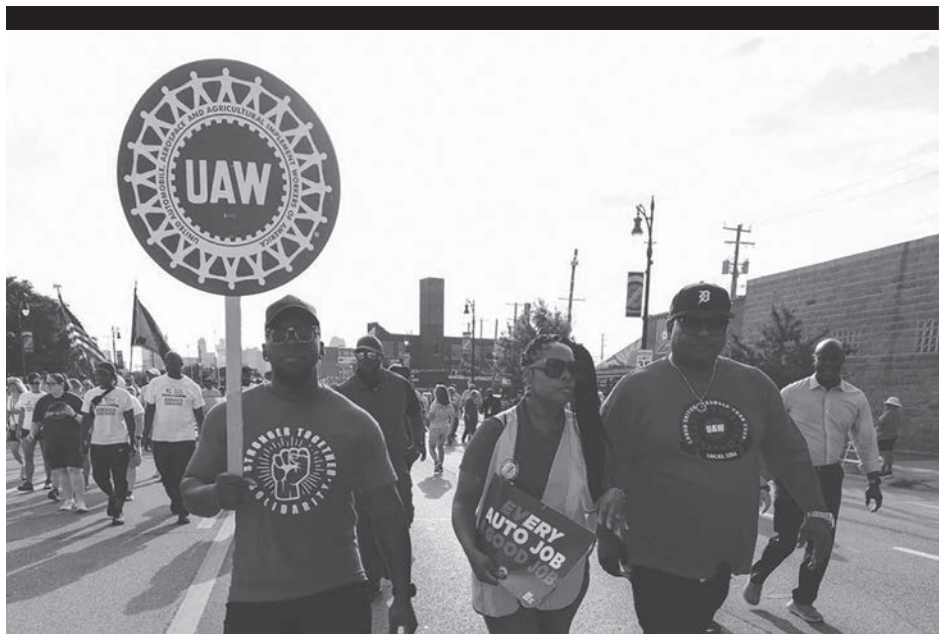
He started volunteering with EWOC after he retired, interested in learning about what challenges workers face today. After decades of a concerted corporate attack on American unions overseen by politicians from both political parties, he knew that conditions had deteriorated for workers.

"When I was growing up, unions were matter-of-fact," Lawson said. "The political climate, I'd say, is much worse now at the institutional level."

His professional life, like both Debra Bergen's and Ellen David Friedman's, is coming full circle now, as a volunteer speaking directly with workers — whether they be baristas, warehouse workers or home health aides.

"We can let people know that you can do organizing for a long time if you want," Lawson said. "It's a fulfilling life."

For more about the EWOC, see workerorganizing.org.



LUIGI W. MORRIS

LEADING BY EXAMPLE:
Autoworkers walking the picket line during their victorious strike against the Big 3.

LABOR BRIEFS

BY INDYPENDENT STAFF

STARBUCKS SAYS IT WANTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH UNION

Starbucks said Dec. 8 that it wants to resume talks with the Starbucks Workers United union more than six months after their last bargaining session. "The current impasse should not be acceptable to either of us," Starbucks executive Sara Kelly said in a letter to Workers United President Lynne Fox. "Anything that moves bargaining forward in a positive way is most welcome," Fox responded. But Starbucks' overture might contain a poison pill: The company wants to conduct sessions "without video or audio feeds so that all participants are comfortable with open, honest discussions." Starbucks Workers United, which has organized around 370 of the company's 10,000 stores and more than 9,000 workers since 2021, has insisted that live-streaming contract talks enables workers to know what's happening. "We've been ready and waiting for a VERY long time," the union posted on Twitter Dec. 9. "The company has STILL not formally responded to a single union contract proposal in over 17 months."

MEDICAL RESEARCHERS STRIKE IN NYC, ORGANIZE AT NIH

More than 500 post-doctoral researchers at Mount Sinai Hospital's Icahn School of Medicine went on strike Dec. 6, after more than a year of fruitless contract talks. "We love our research, but Sinai is leaving us no choice," Andrea Joseph, a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Obstetrics, Gynecology and Reproductive Sciences, said in a statement released by the Sinai Postdoc Organizing Committee-United Auto Workers (UAW). The union's demands include a significant increase in minimum pay, better access to housing, fully paid parental leave and financial support for child care, and better health coverage. That same day, researchers at the National Institutes of Health voted by an overwhelming 1,601-36 margin to be represented by NIH Fellows United, which is also affiliated with the UAW. The union, which will represent more than 5,000 research fellows, is the largest new union of federal employees in more than 10 years.

UAW LOOKS TO ORGANIZE 13 NONUNION CARMAKERS

Trying to build on its momentum after winning large raises in a strike at General Motors, Ford and Stellantis, the UAW launched a campaign Nov. 29 to organize the 150,000 workers at non-union manufacturers in the U.S. "To all the auto workers out there working without the benefits of a union: Now it's your turn," UAW President Shawn Fain said in a video, telling workers that they could electronically sign union cards at the union's website. The campaign targets the 10 foreign auto companies with U.S. plants and three electric-car manufacturers. The UAW's strategy is to take campaigns public when 30% of workers at a plant have signed union cards. It said Dec. 8 that more than 1,000 of the 3,800 workers at Volkswagen's Chattanooga, Tennessee plant, where it lost votes in 2015 and 2019, had signed union cards in less than a week.

DANISH TRANSPORTATION UNION BACKS SWEDISH TESLA STRIKE

Denmark's largest labor union announced a sympathy strike in support of striking Swedish Tesla mechanics Dec. 5. Danish dockworkers won't unload Tesla cars and truckers won't haul them to Sweden, pre-empting a possible company scheme to evade Swedish dockworkers' refusal to unload Teslas. "Even if you are one of the richest in the world, you can't just make your own rules," Jan Villadsen, chair of Denmark's 3F Transport union, said, adding that employers have to comply with labor-market agreements if they want to operate in Scandinavia. About 600 mechanics at Tesla repair shops in Sweden have been on strike since October, after the notoriously anti-union electric-car manufacturer refused to bargain with their union, IF Metall. Swedish union electricians have stopped maintaining Tesla charging stations, and postal workers won't deliver mail to company facilities. All this support for the strikers would be illegal "secondary boycotts" under U.S. labor law.

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Retirees Like All of Us Deserve Traditional Medicare

The undersigned current and retired union members, stewards, delegates, elected officers and staff believe comprehensive and affordable health care is a necessity of life and a right we should all have. The fight for health care has been central to our union movement. We also believe that it is only with union solidarity that our democratic society will remain functioning and strong.

We are opposed to the replacement of traditional Medicare, a public program fought and defended for decades by unions and supported by a majority of retired Americans, with a Medicare Advantage system run by a private insurance company that prioritizes profits over health care. We believe Medicare must be protected, strengthened and expanded, not privatized.

Mayor Eric Adams, the New York City Office of Labor Relations and certain union leaders within the Municipal Labor Committee are on the wrong side of history in this dispute. Instead of advocating for a more vital public health-care system via traditional Medicare, the city is pushing a privatized program that has proven to delay and deny care when it really counts. Health insurance programs, like Aetna's, are also raiding the Medicare trust fund for private gain and costing more than traditional Medicare.

We call on Mayor Adams and the city administration to restore retirees' traditional Medicare benefits and cease their attacks on those of us who have given the better part of our lives to serve our fellow citizens of New York.

BARBARA CARDINAL | RETIREE · BARBARA MANZO | MEMBER · BARBARA MURRAY | RETIREE · BARBARA VOLPE | RETIREE · BELA KAPLAN | RETIREE · BETTY GETHERS | RETIREE · BEVERLEY SMITH HUTSON | MEMBER · BEVERLY CHURCH | RETIREE · BIAGGIO ALBANO | RETIREE · BILL WHITNEY | MEMBER · BOBBY HOOD SR. | RETIREE · BONNIE LANDER | MEMBER · C. PETER GOSLETT | RETIREE · CAMILLE DEE | RETIREE · CARL PINCUS | RETIREE · CARLOS RIVERA | RETIREE · CARMELA DEE | RETIREE · CARMEN Y RIVERA | RETIREE · CARMINE SWEENEY | MEMBER · CAROL MACCHIA | RETIREE · CAROL MUSTO | RETIREE · CAROL PHILLIPS | RETIREE · CAROLE SPINELLA | MEMBER · CAROLYN JOHNSON | MEMBER · CATHALINE CANTALUPO | RETIREE · CATHERINE M. 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SCHWARZLER | RETIREE · DEBORAH SCOTT | RETIREE/ UNION DELEGATE · DELROY WILLIAMS | RETIREE · DENISE RANIOLO | MEMBER · DIANE CARRILLO | RETIREE · DIANE GULLO | MEMBER · DIANE WANAMAKER | RETIREE · DOMENIC RENZI | MEMBER/COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVE · DOMINICK MARTONO | RETIREE · DONAL SEXTON | RETIREE · DONNA BARRECA | RETIREE · DONNA BRADLEY | RETIREE · DONNA LOSITO | MEMBER · DONNA NICHOLAS | RETIREE · DONNA SALERNO | RETIREE · DOREEN CELLERS | RETIREE · DORIS DESPIAN | MEMBER · DORITA PERSKIN | MEMBER · DOROTHY ROSS | RETIREE · DOROTHY ZAREMBA | RETIREE · EDNA LYNN TUZO | MEMBER · EDNA WATSON | RETIREE · EDWARD HERNÁNDEZ | RETIREE · EDWARD ILLIANO | MEMBER · EDWARD ZANETTO | MEMBER · EDWIN 'TITO' DELGADO | RETIREE · EFRAIN RODRIGUEZ JR | RETIREE · EFRAIN RODRÍGUEZ JR | RETIREE · EILEEN SULLIVAN | MEMBER · ELIZABETH A BAUER | RETIREE · ELIZABETH EASTMAN | MEMBER · ELIZABETH LÓPEZ | RETIREE · ELIZABETH PEÑA | RETIREE · ELLA H OBLAS | RETIREE · ELLEN KELLY | RETIREE · ERIC STEVEN | RETIREE · ERICA FELMAN | RETIREE · EVA SUZANNE FUQUA | RETIREE · EVALINA SPENCER | RETIREE · EVELYN PEARSON | RETIREE · EVELYN SANTIAGO | RETIREE · EVETTE TABACK | RETIREE · FELICIA DEMASI | MEMBER · FELICIA PINERO | MEMBER · FRANCIS GOBRIGHT | MEMBER · FRANK PATTI | MEMBER · GAIL FOSTON GAILYARD | RETIREE · GAUTAM SHASTRI | RETIREE · GERALD NELSON | RETIREE · GERALDINE SALLEE | RETIREE · GERTRUDE TAMMANY | RETIREE · GIGI GIACOMARA | RETIREE · GILBERTO GONZÁLEZ | MEMBER · GLADYS ACEVEDO | MEMBER · GLENN FORD | MEMBER · GLORIA AGUEROS | MEMBER · GLORIA BALESTRINO | MEMBER · GLORIA MICHAELS | RETIREE · GLORIA NATERA | MEMBER · GRACE GRAFF | MEMBER · GRACE LOZOWSKA | MEMBER · GRACE TANG | RETIREE · GREG HEIRES | RETIREE/SENIOR ASSOC EDITOR, PUBLIC EMPLOYEE PRESS, FORMER PRESIDENT, METRO NY LABOR COMMUNICATIONS COUNCIL · GRETA POLLACK | RETIREE · GRICEL SOTO | RETIREE · GWEN GOLDBERG | RETIREE · GWENDOLYN SEYMOUR | RETIREE · HEIDI PASHKO | RETIREE · HELEN HODGIN | MEMBER · HELEN WILSON | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · HERBERT KOSTER | RETIREE · HOWARD HABLER | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · HOWARD HAFNER | MEMBER · HOWARD RADIN | MEMBER · HYMAN GOLUB | RETIREE · INNA MELAND | RETIREE · IRA LEVINE | MEMBER · IRINA SILVER | MEMBER · IRIS FIELDS | MEMBER · IZABELLA BEYER | RETIREE · JACK LEVINE | RETIREE · JACKIE PADILLA | RETIREE · JACQUELINE DOLAN | RETIREE · JACQUELINE ROBINSON | RETIREE · JAMES MIELE | RETIREE · JAMES W MITCHELL | MEMBER · JANE BLUM | MEMBER · JANE COUCH | MEMBER · JANE FARCAS | RETIREE · JANE MARTIE | RETIREE · JANET FITZGERALD | MEMBER · JANET HARMON | RETIREE · JANET MANFREDONIA | MEMBER · JANET VALENTI | MEMBER · JASMINE CROSBY-MILLER | MEMBER · JEAN SERRO | MEMBER · JEANETTE BERNSTEIN | MEMBER · JEANETTE M. 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MARRETTA | RETIREE · JOHN ROHAN | RETIREE · JOHN SANTANA | MEMBER · JOHN SHEEHY | RETIREE · JOHN SVENNINGSEN | MEMBER · JOHN TRETTA | RETIREE · JOHN VACCARINO | RETIREE · JOSÉ A MATOS | RETIREE · JOSÉ DE JESÚS | MEMBER · JOSEPH CUCCIA | RETIREE · JOSEPH DETURRIS | RETIREE · JOSEPH MOORE | MEMBER · JOSEPH T SCIBELLI | MEMBER · JOY L PÉREZ | MEMBER · JOY PRIMO | MEMBER · JOYCE BLACK | MEMBER · JUDITH STEINWEISS | MEMBER · JUDY KAPLAN | RETIREE · JUDY LIM LEUNG | RETIREE · JUDY SCHILLER | MEMBER/SPOUSE · JUDY WEINHEBER | RETIREE · JULIA SIMPKINS | RETIREE · JULIANA BRIJESKI | RETIREE · JULIANA REID | MEMBER · JULIE SCHWARTZBERG | RETIREE/EXEC.VP, LOCAL 768 · JUNOS ZDYBICKI | RETIREE · KANU GANDHI | MEMBER · KAREN HACKER | RETIREE · KAREN SMITH | MEMBER · KAREN VERMUT | RETIREE · KATHERINE DE ROSA | MEMBER · KATHLEEN BURNS | MEMBER · KATHLEEN DEVAYNES | RETIREE · KATHLEEN FAVALORO | RETIREE · KATHLEEN HENDERSON | MEMBER · KATHLEEN HOBAN | MEMBER · KATYA DE KADT | RETIREE · KAY SMITH | MEMBER · KEELY CRAWFORD | RETIREE · KEESHONE MCLAURIN | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · KEVIN STRAUSS | RETIREE · KRISTINE WOLF | MEMBER · LAFA MURDESHWAR | RETIREE · LAWRENCE ISAAC | MEMBER · LEE ROTTENBERG | MEMBER · LEONID GORODNITSKIY | RETIREE · LINDA MILIOTO | RETIREE · LINDA RUIZ | MEMBER/DELEGATE · LISA BRADLEY | MEMBER · LOIS SCHWARTZ | RETIREE · LOLA PAZOS | RETIREE · LORAINE HYSLOP | RETIREE · LORI MAYNARD | MEMBER · LORRAINE LOZITO | RETIREE · LORRAINE RAUER | MEMBER · LOUIS PRIVITERA | MEMBER · LOUISE HOCH | MEMBER · LOURDES MALDONADO | RETIREE · LOZOWSKI GRZEGORZ | MEMBER · LUCIA CARCIU | RETIREE · LUCREZIA PAPA | MEMBER · LUIS MOLANO | RETIREE · LYDIA SCHWARTZ | RETIREE · LYNN AMANUGI | RETIREE · LYNNE RIDGEWAY | MEMBER · MACARIA NOCUM | MEMBER · MADELINE KASS | MEMBER · MAGALI CALDERÓN | MEMBER · MAGDY GEORGI | MEMBER · MARA BECK | RETIREE · MARCIA SCHWARTZMAN LEVY | MEMBER · MARCY GALATIOTO | MEMBER · MARGARET CASEY | MEMBER · MARGARET NELSON | RETIREE · MARGARET RODRÍGUEZ | MEMBER · MARGUERITE HIGGINS | RETIREE · MARIA DADDATO | RETIREE · MARIA E LIZASUAIN | RETIREE · MARIA LORENZO | RETIREE · MARIA RAMSEY | RETIREE · MARIA SMIRNOV | RETIREE · MARIA ZDYBICKI | RETIREE · MARIAN GRANSON | RETIREE/FORMER SHOP STEWARD · MARIANNA FERRARA-LAUTATO | RETIREE · MARIANNE KRISTOFF | MEMBER · MARILYN SCHORR | RETIREE · MARILYN SEIDMAN | MEMBER · MARK BREINER | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT LOCAL 1219 · MARK KLEINBERG | RETIREE · MARLENE MARSHALL | RETIREE · MARY ANN LAMPE | RETIREE · MARY ANN MAY | RETIREE/ FORMER SHOP STEWARD · MARYANN CAPONE | RETIREE · MATILDE LEO | RETIREE · MAUREEN K RYAN | MEMBER · MAYA PERELMAN | RETIREE · MAYA STOLYAR | RETIREE · MICHAEL AZZOLINI | MEMBER · MICHAEL GREENE | RETIREE · MICHAEL MUSTO | MEMBER · MICHAEL SCHEER | MEMBER · MICHAEL STOLLER | MEMBER · MICHELE BELLOMO | RETIREE · MICHELE MASUCCI | RETIREE · MIECZYSLAW ROWINSKI | RETIREE · MIRIAM BAEZ | MEMBER · MUKESH PATEL | MEMBER · NANCY QUIÑONEZ | RETIREE · NAOMI NIEVES | MEMBER · NATALYA KAMALYANTS | RETIREE · NICHOLAS BEZA | RETIREE · NONILON S HOURAHAN | RETIREE · ONA CHERON | MEMBER · ONA NIERENBERG | RETIREE · OSCAR URQUIOLA | RETIREE · PAMELA J OLSON | MEMBER · PAMELA THOMAS | MEMBER · PATRICIA HOLMES | RETIREE · PATRICIA LAVELLE | MEMBER · PATRICK CORNACCHIO | RETIREE · PATTY EPPICH | MEMBER · PAULA BEBERMAN | MEMBER · PETER J. KOCH | RETIREE · PETER MATHEWS | MEMBER · PETER YBASCO | MEMBER · PHOEBE NG | RETIREE · PNINA MICHELSON | RETIREE · RAISA SARATOVSKY | RETIREE · RAJENDRA PATEL | RETIREE · RAJENDRAKUMAR PARIKH | MEMBER · RAMRATTIE TIWARI | MEMBER · RAYMOND GALLOP | RETIREE · RAYMOND RAMOS | RETIREE · RICHARD ASARO | MEMBER · RICHARD NAPOLITANO | MEMBER · RICHARD VENTURA | MEMBER · RITA GAZARIK | MEMBER · RITA OLICKER | MEMBER/ACTIVIST · RITA PROSA | RETIREE · RIVA LEVINE | MEMBER · ROBERT ARMITAGE | MEMBER · ROBERT BALDRIAN | RETIREE · ROBERT O'NEILL | MEMBER/ACTIVIST · ROBERT ORTIZ | RETIREE · ROBERTO WILLIAMS | MEMBER · ROBIN DEFREITAS | RETIREE · ROCCO GALATIOTO | MEMBER · ROGELIO E CHURCH | RETIREE · ROMAN SOSONKIN | RETIREE · ROMELIA CREQUE | RETIREE · RON NACCARATO | MEMBER · ROSANNE ROMANO | RETIREE · ROSE ESTELA | MEMBER · ROSEANN PARKER | RETIREE · ROSMUNDA CUONO | RETIREE · RUFINA AMADIZ | MEMBER · RUTH KRAUS | RETIREE · RUTH SINGER | RETIREE · S. KAYE KLEIN | MEMBER · SAL BUCARO | RETIREE · SAMUEL P CIALI | RETIREE · SANDI KARCZEWSKI | MEMBER · SANDRA CELENTANO | RETIREE · SANDRA E. RODRÍGUEZ | RETIREE · SAUL WEITZ | MEMBER · SELIM OZALP | RETIREE · SHARON DOOLEY | RETIREE · SHARON GIBBS DAVIS | RETIREE · SHARON NEUMAN | RETIREE · SHELDON FEIN | MEMBER · SHERRY DUKSIN | MEMBER · SHERYL SCHLECTMAN | MEMBER · SHERYL WINN | MEMBER · SHIRLEY D MILLER | RETIREE · SHIRLEY THOMAS | RETIREE · SHLOMIT GEISLER | MEMBER · SONIA VILLEGAS | RETIREE · STEVE NOBEL | MEMBER · STEVE SEYIFUNMI | MEMBER · STEVEN WEINER | RETIREE · SUSAN ALTMAN | MEMBER · SUSAN CALVERT | MEMBER · SUSAN KROLL | MEMBER · SUSAN RASKIN | MEMBER · SUSAN STARKER | RETIREE · SUSAN WHALWN | RETIREE · SUZY SANDOR | RETIREE · SYLVIA ROSA | RETIREE · TAMARA SEVASTYANOVA | MEMBER · TATYANA SOSONKINA | RETIREE · TERRI HARARY | MEMBER · THEODORE SENDLER | RETIREE · THERESA SAPORITA | RETIREE · THOMAS BAUDANZA | MEMBER · THOMAS E. ALAMO | RETIREE · THOMAS FISCHER | RETIREE · THOMAS KROUWER | MEMBER · TINA M. WILLIAMS-EDWARDS | RETIREE · TINA NIKITIADES | MEMBER · TOM CAFIERO | RETIREE · TONI SMITH | RETIREE · VALERIE JANICKE | MEMBER · VERDELL THURSTON | RETIREE · VERONICA GOLDEN | MEMBER · VINCENZA LIBASCI | MEMBER · VINCENZO MILIOTO | MEMBER · VINCENZO MORRONE | MEMBER · WALTER DANZ | RETIREE · WARREN HULTS | RETIREE · WENDY BRENNER | MEMBER · WILLA WHITE | MEMBER · WILLIAM AZAR | RETIREE · WILLIAM DWORKIN | RETIREE · WILLIAM E. LANG JR. | MEMBER · WILLIE L BAXTER | RETIREE · YELENA VAYSBEYN | RETIREE · YEVGENY BIKHLER | RETIREE · ZELMA CRUZ | MEMBER · ZINA YOUNG-HOPE | RETIREE · ZOEANN LANGNER | MEMBER · ZULLY ZURHEIDE | MEMBER · ANNA GALLEGOS | RETIREE · BETTY GETHERS | RETIREE · DOROTHY ZAREMBA | RETIREE · ELIZABETH PEÑA | RETIREE · RAJALEKHMI SRIDHARAN | RETIREE · **DC 37 AFSCME** · KATHY NAPOLI | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD · LINDA OSTREICHER | MEMBER · WALTER LEVENDOSKY | MEMBER · **DC 37 EMT** · SONIA AGRON | MEMBER · **DC 37 LEGAL DEPARTMENT STAFF ASSOCIATE** · LEONARD POLLETTA | MEMBER/FORMER PRESIDENT · **DC 37 LIBRARY GUILD 1321** · CAROLYN LUPPINO | MEMBER · EILEEN RAGONE | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 1070** · ELLEN CESARSKI | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1180** · STEVEN GUGGENHEIM | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1320** · ANDREW GALLO | RETIREE · CHARLES RAY | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD · **DC 37 LOCAL 1321** · CHARLENE GWIZDALA | RETIREE · FRANCES SHIEH | MEMBER · JANIS SWARTZ | MEMBER ·

KENNETH NASH | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1322** · JOSEPH M. BRUNETTO | RETIREE · MICHAEL SPIZUOCO | MEMBER · KENNETH SLUTSKY | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1407** ANNAMALAI J. MURALIDARAN | RETIREE · H.I. SCHWARTZ | RETIREE/FORMER EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER/DC 37 DELEGATE · STAN SINGER | MEMBER · THERESA ROTH | RETIREE/FORMER EXEC. BD. MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · **DC 37 LOCAL 1455** · WILSON FENTY | RETIREE/ FORMER UNION PRESIDENT · **DC 37 LOCAL 1482** · MARLENE ROSENBERG | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · PHYLLIS BORNSTEIN | MEMBER · ZEZLIE BLYDEN | MEMBER/LIBRARIAN · **DC 37 LOCAL 1501** · RALPH RAMOS | MEMBER/VICE PRESIDENT,DELEGATE,SHOP STEWARD · **DC 37 LOCAL 1503** · CAMERON GREGG | MEMBER · JOE PISCOPIA | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1508** · DEBORAH SCHREYER | RETIREE · RICHARD STONE | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1539** LINDA MOLETA | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 154** · ARNOLD KOROTKIN | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1549** · ALVIN CARTER | MEMBER/DELEGATE · ANN ROSS-SPARACIO | RETIREE · ANNE WHALEN | RETIREE · BRENDA WALKER | DELEGATE · CAROL BAERGA | RETIREE · CAROL SEALEROGERS | RETIREE · DEBORAH BRATHWAITE | MEMBER/DELEGATE · DIANE CRAWFORD | MEMBER · DOREEN HOLM | MEMBER · DOROTHY LORENZO | MEMBER/ASST. DIRECTOR · EVA ORTEGA | RETIREE · EVELYN YOUNG | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · JAMAISA JOHNSON | RETIREE /FORMER REPRESENTATIVE · LINDA MCCOOL | RETIREE · LINDA PESHKIN | RETIREE · LUIS VALENTIN | MEMBER · MILLIE FELICIANO | RETIREE · RALPH PALLADINO | RETIREE/FORMER 2ND VP · RHONDA MYERS | MEMBER · RONALD ARNERO | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE WIECKOWSKI | MEMBER · SABRA HARDY | RETIREE · T. GAROFALO | MEMBER · VIVIAN DINDIAL | RETIREE · WALESKA LAYES | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 1559** IVY RUTZKY | RETIREE · JACKIE BECKETT | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT 23YRS · LISA BRESLOF | RETIREE/FORMER TREASURER · RONALD SEARL | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 1655** · ANNETTE CATALDO | RETIREE · DONALD AFFLICK | PRESIDENT, DC 37 VICE PRESIDENT, DC 37 PAC CHAIR · **DC 37 LOCAL 1757** · DAVID MOOG | RETIREE /FORMER PRESIDENT 1757 AND FORMER VP DC 37 · FRANCINE SCHLOSS | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · **DC 37 LOCAL 1930** · ALEX KOHN | MEMBER · ALICE ADAMCZYK | RETIREE · ALLISON HUGHES | MEMBER · ANGELA LINDO | RETIREE · BONNIE FARRIER | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · CAROL ANSHIEN | RETIREE · CAROL THOMAS | MEMBER · CHRISTINE COULOMBE | RETIREE · CHRISTINE KARATNYTSKY | MEMBER · DAHLIA RIVERA | RETIREE · DANA SIMON | RETIREE/ACTIVIST · DANIELLA PAGAN | MEMBER · DAVID BEASLEY | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · DAVID OCKENE | RETIREE · DIGNA MOTTA | MEMBER · ELIZABETH BALDWIN | MEMBER · ELIZABETH BEVINGTON | MEMBER · ELLIOTT LIU | MEMBER · EMMA CLARKSON | MEMBER · GABRIELLA STEINBERG | MEMBER · GLENN MILLS | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · HAL SCHRIEVE | MEMBER · HARRIET BURDOCK | RETIREE · HARRIET SHALAT | RETIREE · HATS SELTZER | MEMBER · JAN KLUCEVSEK | MEMBER · JOE BOONIN | RETIREE · JOE ZEVELOFF | VP · KAREN GISONNY | RETIREE · KATHLEEN FAIS | MEMBER · KATHLEEN XI | RETIREE · KAYLEIGH SALSTRAND | MEMBER · LAURA O'KEEFE | MEMBER · LEE ROBINSON | RETIREE · LOUISE STAMP | MEMBER · LUIS MÉNDEZ | MEMBER · MARIAH GAMBINO | MEMBER · MARILYN ACKERMAN | RETIREE · MARTHA MOFFIT | MEMBER · MARY BERMAN | RETIREE · NORA DOLLIVER | MEMBER · PATRICIA SMALL | RETIREE · PETER HIRSCH | RETIREE · PYLLIS HOFFMAN | RETIREE · RAY MARKEY | RETIREE /FORMER PRESIDENT · SAGE HAMPTON | MEMBER · SALLY CAMPBELL | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · SALLY SPELLER | RETIREEE · SARAH ANN ADAMS | MEMBER/ACTIVIST · SARAH DAVIS | MEMBER · STEPHANIE TOLBERT | RETIREE · STEVE COOPER | RETIREE · TABRIZIA JONES | MEMBER · VAL COLÓN | RETIREE · ZOE WALDRON | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 1931** · HARRIS BAYLEN | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 2507** · ALLAN BARRY | MEMBER · CHARLES WERTHEIMER | RETIREE · LESTER GREENE | MEMBER/LABOR LIAISON · LORNA O'FARREL-MACINTIRE | RETIREE/EMS · MARIANNE PIZZITOLA | RETIREE/PRESIDENT OF NYC ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC SERVICE RETIREES & PRESIDENT OF THE FDNY EMS RETIREES ASSOCIATION · MARK PECK | MEMBER · MICHAEL STEIN | RETIREE · MIGUEL NINA | MEMBER · Q. MACKEY | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 2597** · DAVID SOTO | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 2627** · ANA A. ROSADO | RETIREE · ARTHUR S. MENDELSOHN | RETIREE · BARRY HALLER | MEMBER · BRIAN WONSEVER | RETIREE/ EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER & SHOP STEWARD · CESARE BARRECA | MEMBER · CHESTER ROSARIO | BOARD OF DIRECTORS DC37 SW FLORIDA RETIREES · CHRIS INGUANTA | MEMBER · ED HYSYK | RETIREE/ FORMER PRESIDENT 2627, DC 37 SECRETARY, FORMER PRESIDENT RETIREES ASSOC. · ED PICKETT | RETIREE · EVELYN COHEN | RETIREE · JOHN T. SHEA | MEMBER · JOSEPH NG | RETIREE · JULIE-ANNE LEIBOWITZ | RETIREE/FORMER SECRETARY & DELEGATE · L. SWAN | RETIREE · MAURICE SEDACCA | RETIREE · MICHAEL KALSTEIN | RETIREE · PHILIP WLADESSA | MEMBER · STEPHEN FELDHEIM | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 270** · MARY MASTERSON | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 299** · JIM HAYES | MEMBER · LORINDA KLEIN | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 3599** · RONALD NACCARATO | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 3621** · BARBARA RONS | RETIREE · BARRET HIRSCH | RETIREE · BRUCE HAAS | MEMBER · CARLOS E. LÓPEZ | MEMBER · CHARLES TAHANEY | MEMBER · ELLEN LARNEY | MEMBER · ERIC FAY | RETIREE · KEVIN HENNESSY | MEMBER · MARIA SANTAROMITA | RETIREE/TREASURER · MITCHELL STY | RETIREE · PAUL RADENBERG | RETIREE · RALPH FRANCISCO | RETIREE/FORMER EXEC.BD. MEMBER · STEVEN SAMMIS | RETIREE · STEWART WOLF | RETIREE · SUSAN MULLER | MEMBER · VINCENT JOYCE | RETIREE · WILLIAM MELARAGNO | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 3621/2507** · SCOTT FRIED | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD, ELECTIONS CHAIR · **DC 37 LOCAL 3652** · GREGORY E HOMATAS | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 371** · ELLA KITAYCHIK | MEMBER · MARK CASNER | RETIREE/DELEGATE & WELFARE FUND TRUSTEE · **DC 37 LOCAL 372** · BARBARA KESTENBAUM | RETIREE · CEIL STOPLER | RETIREE/DIRECTOR OF RETIREES LOCAL 372 · DAVID LEASE | MEMBER · DIANE RAFI | MEMBER · ELLEN STEINER | MEMBER · FLORENCE KEHOE | RETIREE · JANE OVERTON | RETIREE · KIM WILLIAMS | MEMBER · LAWRENCE MOTTOLA | RETIREE · LINDA POLLARI | MEMBER · LOUISE MAHONEY | MEMBER/ RETIREE · MARY HAYES | MEMBER · MARY LOU MARI | MEMBER · RITA WILLET | MEMBER · ROSE DISASI | MEMBER · SALLIE ROBERTSON | MEMBER/ACTIVIST · SANTOS CRESPO | RETIREE/FORMER LOCAL 372 PRESIDENT, & DC 37 VP · TANYA SANDS | MEMBER · THERESA SAPOTITA | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 375** · BRAD SMITH | RETIREE/FIRST VP · CAROL STEINSAPIR | MEMBER · CASSIE HACKEL | MEMBER/DELEGATE · CESAR LOPEZ | MEMBER/DELEGATE · CESAR LÓPEZ | MEMBER/DELEGATE · CHRIS AMBROSE | RETIREE · DAVID J. BRADBURY | RETIREE · FRED KOSTER | MEMBER/DELEGATE · FRED NEWTON | RETIREE/FORMER CHAIR DC 37 CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE & LABOR & POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) · FREDERICK KOSTER | RETIREE · GENE METTI | RETIREE · JEFFRY KIEFFER | RETIREE · JON FORSTER | MEMBER/GRIEVANCE REPRESENTATIVE · JOSHUA BARNETT | MEMBER/DELEGATE · JUDY MAXWELL | MEMBER · KAREN MEIERDIERCKS | RETIREE · LAWRENCE SCHUKER | MEMBER · LESLEY WILIAMS | RETIREE/DC 37 RETIREE COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER & FORMER CHAPTER DELEGATE · LORRAINE ASSENT | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · MAURICE BRUET | RETIREE · MICHAEL KLUGER | RETIREE · MIKE GIMBEL | RETIREE/EXEC. BD. MEMBER · NANCY P. GUERNSEY | RETIREE · PATRICIA DAYE | MEMBER/CHAPTER SECRETARY · PATRICIA GRILLO | RETIREE · RICARDO HINKLE | MEMBER/CHAPTER PRESIDENT · THOMAS FERRANTE | MEMBER · THOMAS MASTRONARDI | RETIREE · VIVIAN RHINEHART | MEMBER · WALTER G TUMM JR | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 376** · ELIZABETH GARDNER | MEMBER · NELSON A. MORCIGLIO | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 384** · KATHLEEN NAPOLI | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD · SUSAN BEEN | RETIREE · **DC 37 LOCAL 420** · DAVID HAMILTON | MEMBER · ISABEL FIGUEROA | RETIREE/VP OF MEDICARE & SOCIAL SECURITY DC 37 RETIREES · MARIA NÚÑEZ | RETIREE · MARLENE WORRELL | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 732** · LJUBICA JUKIC | MEMBER · **DC 37 LOCAL 768** · ELISSA LUGO-AYALA | MEMBER · NAOMI RABINOWITZ-BUCHANAN | MEMBER · ZELMA BROWN | RETIREE /FORMER DELEGATE · **DC 37 LOCAL 983** · ROY K DAVISON | RETIREE · **DC 37 RETIREES ASSOCIATION** · ANDREA SIMON | MEMBER · ARKADIY GEKHT | MEMBER · AUREA A. MANGUAL | MEMBER/ASSOC.VP OF INTER UNION RELATIONS FORMER EXEC. BD.MEMBER & DELEGATE · BARBARA VANTERPOOL | MEMBER · BEVERLY HEIGH | MEMBER/SPOUSE · BRENDA STOKELY | MEMBER · BRUCE HEIGH | MEMBER/RECORDING SECRETARY · CAROLYN WEINSTEIN | MEMBER · CARYLE-LINDA ROSENBLATT | MEMBER/CHAPTER CHAIR OF CENTRAL FLORIDA AND EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER · CASSIE YANISH | MEMBER · CATHERINE DAGOSTINO | RETIREE · CHRISTIANA ANING | MEMBER · D. EVANS | MEMBER · DEBORAH TYSON | MEMBER/DELEGATE · DELORES BRYANT | MEMBER · DENISE WORRELL | MEMBER/DELEGATE · DOMINIC MARTINO | MEMBER/CURRENT RETIREE ASSOC VP/FORMER PRESIDENT LOCAL 1506 · EDWARD ZANETTO | MEMBER · FLORENCE BOLTEN | MEMBER · GEORGIA WEVER | MEMBER/ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE TO THE LOCAL'S COUNCIL · GLORY ANN KERSTEIN | MEMBER · HARRIS SCHAARTZ | MEMBER/FORMER EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER AND DELEGATE · IRA M. 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REINHOLD | MEMBER · TRACY KVIES | RETIREE · VINCENT IANNACO | MEMBER · VINCENT SIMONE | MEMBER · WAYNE HOWARD | MEMBER · WILLIAM TERRY | MEMBER · **NYPD SBA** (**SERGEANT'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION**) · ANGELINA ROUSE | MEMBER · ADRIENNE CHAPMAN | MEMBER · AL SOLURI | MEMBER · ANTHONY LACCETTI | RETIREE · ANTHONY LORENZO | MEMBER · ANTHONY POWERS | RETIREE · ANTHONY SALATO | RETIREE/ DELEGATE · BARBARA DENNEHY | RETIREE · BILL MURRAY | SERGEANT · CESAR APONTE | UNKNOWN · CHARLES KELLY | MEMBER · CHARLES RICE | RETIRED · CHRISTIAN SVENDSEN | MEMBER/DELEGATE · DANIEL ROUSE | MEMBER · DAVID FIEDERLEIN | MEMBER · DENNIS WALSH | MEMBER · DONALD AVENOSO | MEMBER · EDWARD N ROSE JR. | MEMBER · FRANCIS DOHERTY | MEMBER · FREDERICA MURRAY-CREWS | MEMBER · GERARD MCCOY | MEMBER · GERARD TROGLIO | MEMBER · JACK VACCARO | RETIREE · JAMES A. LITTLEFIELD | MEMBER/SBA DELEGATE · JAMES M GROTHEER | MEMBER · JERRY J. CASTAGLIOLA | RETIREE · JOANNE RIGGS | RETIREE · JOHN BLASZCZYK | MEMBER · JOHN NEGRÓN | MEMBER · JOSEPH GLOSS JR | MEMBER · JOSEPH LEONARD | RETIREE/ FORMER DELEGATE · JOSEPH NICOLOSI | RETIREE · JULIE AGUEROS | MEMBER · KEITH BAVOLAR | RETIREE · LILLIAN DONOVAN | MEMBER · MARK ELBAUM | RETIREE · MARK V. MURPHY | LIFE MEMBER · MICHAEL DZIELSKI | MEMBER · MICHAEL FILOMENA | MEMBER/DELEGATE · MICHAEL LOCASCIO | RETIREE · MICHAEL RYDER | RETIREE/DELEGATE PERSONNEL BUREAU · MICHELE STROMER | MEMBER · PAUL FERRIGNO | RETIRED · PAUL JOHNSON | MEMBER · PAUL ROMEO | MEMBER · ROBERT COLEMAN | MEMBER · ROBERT MANCUSO | RETIREE · ROBERT SCHENDORF | MEMBER · ROBERT SPRAGUE | MEMBER · SANDRA DRAVES | MEMBER · STEVEN MUSUMECI | RETIREE · VIC MARZANO | SERGEANT · WILLIAM CRONIN | SERGEANT · WILLIAM M GAMMEL | MEMBER · JENNIFER L. SHERMAN | MEMBER · JOSEPH REGULA | MEMBER · JULIA WILSON | MEMBER · MARIE DESTEFANO | SPOUSE · PATRICK MCCORMICK | RETIREE · PAUL DESTEFANO | MEMBER · ROBERT R RECCO | MEMBER · **NYPD SOC** (**SUPERIOR OFFICERS COUNCIL**) · CHARLES PANNELL | MEMBER · EDWARD A MEZZADRI | MEMBER · JIM DEVINE | RETIREE · LAWRENCE CLYNE | MEMBER · PETER CASO | MEMBER · WILLIAM BRADLEY | RETIREE · **NYPD UPOA** (**UNITED PROBATIONS OFFICERS ASSOCIATION**) · JAMES H BENNETT | RETIREE · LESLIE PARRINO | MEMBER · MARC FLEISCHER | MEMBER · **NYS SANITATION DEPARTMENT** · KIRK HAARKLAU | MEMBER · **NYSNA** (**NEW YORK STATE NURSES ASSOCIATION**) · ANGELA THOMPSON | MEMBER · ANN MILLER | MEMBER · ANN SHEEHAN | MEMBER · APRIL STERN | MEMBER · BARBARA BEACH | RETIREE · DEBRA GALIONE | MEMBER · DENISE MARINO | MEMBER · DOREEN GATANAS | MEMBER · ELIZABETH BROPHY | MEMBER · ELLEN SCHOTTENFELD | MEMBER · HELEN CUSICK | RETIREE · IRENE PEARLMAN | MEMBER · JANET MACKEY | MEMBER · JUDY SHERIDAN GONZÁLEZ | RETIREE/ FORMER PRESIDENT, EXEC.COMMITTEE, MONTEFIORE · LUCILLE CORVA | MEMBER · MARY TYNAN | RETIREE · PAMELA STANIS | RETIREE · PATRICIA FLYNN | MEMBER · RAMONA LAMASCOLA | MEMBER · RITA MCNAMARA | MEMBER · ROSETTA JENKINS | MEMBER · SANDRA GRAFF | MEMBER · SEAN PETTY, RN | MEMBER/LOCAL BARGAINING UNIT PRESIDENT, H&H/JACOBI · SOFIA OSTROV | RETIREE · SUZANNE LEVINE | MEMBER · TIEA HICKS | RETIREE · **NYSUT** · BILL RITCHIE | RETIREE · EDWARD CIACCIO | RETIREE · **OAKLAND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION** · BILL BALDERSTON | MEMBER/ORGANIZER · **OSA** (**ORGANIZATION OF STAFF ANALYSTS**) · ANA SÁNCHEZ | MEMBER · ANGEL ROMÁN | RETIREE · ANNE SHATZ BENLISA | RETIREE · ARLENE ROSS | MEMBER · BARBARA J. KATZ | RETIREE · BARRY LEVY | MEMBER · CARMENCITA QUEYQUEP | MEMBER · CAROL DEWEY | MEMBER · CHARLENE WHEELER | MEMBER · DANIEL DEBIASO | RETIREE · DENNIS HERLIHY | MEMBER · DIANE LEVIN | MEMBER · DIANE W. LEVIN | MEMBER · DOLLY ADAMS | RETIREE · DOROTHY MARIE NASH | MEMBER · ELLEN WARMSTEIN | RETIREE · ELSIE MARTELL | MEMBER · FLOR BETANCOURT | RETIREE · FRANCES BARRIS | MEMBER · GLADYS PARDO MEDINA | MEMBER · HANK PERLIN | MEMBER · ILONA LUBMA | MEMBER · IRA CHINSKY | MEMBER · IRWIN ROMANER | MEMBER · JEANINE PRUD'HOMME | MEMBER · JESSE DOBRINSKY | RETIREE · JOHN EGAN | MEMBER · JOHN WIELAND | MEMBER · JUDY DIORIO | MEMBER · KATHRYN NOCERINO | MEMBER · L. LOREN | MEMBER · LAURIE LOPRIMO | MEMBER · LAURIE SANTO | MEMBER · LAWRENCE FIFFER | MEMBER · LENORE SHERMAN | MEMBER · LINDA KAVANAGH | MEMBER · LINDA LUKAS | RETIREE · LINDA URBANSKI | MEMBER · LYNN BENDER MAX | MEMBER · MARIA LOPRIMO | MEMBER · MARSHALL MARROQUIN | MEMBER · MARY CONTESSA | RETIREE · MICHAEL CHAKRIN | MEMBER · PAUL MARGOLIS | MEMBER · PAULA GANNON | MEMBER · PHILIP CARLUCCI | MEMBER · PHYLLIS PITTINSKY | MEMBER · PHYLLIS POMERANTZ | RETIREE · R. LYNN | MEMBER · ROBERTA GONZÁLEZ | RETIREE · STEVEN PACHECO | MEMBER · SUSAN MULLGRAV | RETIREE/FORMER PRESIDENT · TERESA DUFFY | MEMBER · THEODORE J. CIMINO | RETIREE · THOMAS J. WALSH | MEMBER · VICKIE MOORE | MEMBER · WAYNE R. NICHOLU | RETIREE · WILLIAM F. KLIMOWICZ | RETIREE · YELENA KREMER | RETIREE · **PBA LOCAL 1181 & 1199** · DAVID I. TROISE | MEMBER · **PITTSBURGH MUSICIANS UNION** · MIKE STOUT | RETIREE · **PLUMBERS LOCAL 1** · PATRICK TINGO | MEMBER · PETER MARTINO | RETIREE · **PSC-CUNY & SAG-AFTRA** · KEVIN KOLACK | MEMBER/CAMPUS OFFICER AT LARGE · **PSC-CUNY LOCAL 2334** · AARON BOTWICK | MEMBER/HOSTOS EC CHAPTER · ADELE BROWNE | MEMBER · AINE LOBATO | MEMBER · ALAN FEIGENBERGT | MEMBER · ALAN FEINBERG | RETIREE/FORMER PSC EC MEMBER, CHAPTER CHAIR, DELEGATE) · ALBA LYNCH | MEMBER/HOSTOS EC CHAPTER · ALEX HO | MEMBER · ALEX WOLF | MEMBER/BCC CHAPTER EXEC.COMMITTEE MEMBER · ALEXANDRA MILSOM | MEMBER · ALEXANDRA TARASKO | RETIREE/FORMER GRIEVANCE OFFICER · ALEXIS PISTONE | MEMBER · ALICIA BRALOVE RAMÍREZ | MEMBER · ALIDA PASTORIZA | MEMBER · ALIOU DIOP | MEMBER · ALLISON GORR | MEMBER · ANDREA ORTUNO | MEMBER /EC BCC ALTERNATE DELEGATE · ANDREW BEVERIDGE | MEMBER · ANGELA LOGUERCIO | MEMBER/DELEGATE · ANN AGRANOFF | RETIREE · ANN P. HAAS | MEMBER · ANTHONY GATTO | MEMBER · ASHOK VORA | MEMBER · BARBARA WEISERBS | MEMBER · BENJAMIN YARMOLINSKY | RETIREE · BERTRAND GROSSMAN | MEMBER · BETTE KERR | RETIREE · BOB CERMELE | RETIREE/FORMER PSC EC MEMBER, NYCT CHAPTER CHAIR, DELEGATE · BOBBI BRAUER | MEMBER · BONNIE S ANDERSON | MEMBER · BRIAN GOLDSTEIN | MEMBER · BRUCE L BROWN | MEMBER · BURT GROSSMAN | RETIREE · CARA MURRAY | MEMBER/ELECTION COMMITTEE · CARL AYLMAN | MEMBER · CARLOS LIACHOVITZKY | MEMBER · CARMEN ALUSTIZA MONDESIRE | RETIREE · CARMEN MEYERS | MEMBER · CAROL LANG | MEMBER/DELEGATE · CAROLE KULIKOWSKI | MEMBER · CAROLYN STRANGE | MEMBER · CARRIE STERN | MEMBER · CHARLES POST | MEMBER/ FORMER GRIEVANCE COUNSELOR · CHLOE URBAN | MEMBER · CHRIS EFTHIMIOU | MEMBER · CHRIS ROBINSON | MEMBER · CHRISTINA MORALES | MEMBER · CHRISTINA SASSI-LEHNER | MEMBER · CINDY GREENBERG | MEMBER · CINDY WANG | MEMBER · CLARA NIETO-WIRE | MEMBER · CLARISSA WEISS | RETIREE/FORMER DIRECTOR OF PENSION AND HEALTH BENEFITS · CONSTANCE PELUSO | MEMBER · CORMAC O'SULLIVAN | MEMBER · CORTANAY PARKER | MEMBER · CRYSTAL RODRIGUEZ | MEMBER/ALTERNATE DELEGATE/FACULTY · DANA FENTON | WELFARE ADVISORY COMMITTEE · DANA SUTTON | MEMBER · DAVID ARNOW | MEMBER · DAVID KOTELCHUCK | RETIREE/EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER · DAVID MARSHALL | RETIREE · DAVID ROSENTHAL | MEMBER · DEB LEWITTES | MEMBER · DEBRA BERGEN | RETIREE/FORMER CONTRACT ENFORCEMENT DIRECTOR · DENICE BROWN | MEMBER · DIANA MACRI | MEMBER · DIANE COLÓN | RETIREE/FORMER PSC DELEGATE · DOLORES WEBER | MEMBER · DORIS HART | MEMBER/EXECUTIVE BOARD · DOUGLAS A. MEDINA | MEMBER · DULCE TOPPENBERG | MEMBER · ED OTT | RETIREE · EDWARD VOLCHOK | MEMBER · EDWIN KAHN | MEMBER · ELAINE M WALSH, PH.D.,LCSW | RETIREE · ELAINE ROSEN | RETIREE · ELENA OUMANO | RETIREE · ELISE LANGAN | MEMBER · ELYSE NEWMAN | RETIREE · EMALINDA MCSPADDEN | MEMBER · EMMY THELANDER | MEMBER /EC HOSTOS CHAPTER · ERMA NIEVES | MEMBER · EUGENE HAMOND | MEMBER · EVELYN JONES RICH | RETIREE/EXEC. DIRECTOR FOR AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION · FELIPE PIMENTEL | MEMBER /FORMER PSC EC MEMBER; DELEGATE · FRANCES DISALVO | MEMBER · FRANCES FERRARA | RETIREE · GE LI | MEMBER · GIL RETREY | RETIRED · GISELLE TOBY | MEMBER · GLENN KISSACK | RETIREE/DELEGATE & FORMER EC MEMBER · GORDON BASSEN | MEMBER · GRISEL Y. ACOSTA | MEMBER · HARINI MITTAL | MEMBER · HENRY LESNICK | RETIREE/FORMER HOSTOS CHAPTER EC MEMBER · HONG WU | RETIREE · HOWARD KLEINMANN | RETIREE · HUGO MONROY-CACERES | MEMBER · IRMA JUSTICIA-HARRIS | MEMBER · IRVING LEONARD MARKOVITZ | RETIREE · J. KATZ | MEMBER · JACK DIAMOND | RETIREE · JACQUELINE A. JONES | MEMBER · JACQUELINE SOTOMAYOR | MEMBER · JAMES PERLSTEIN | RETIREE/ FORMER PSC EC MEMBER, FORMER CHAIR RETIREE CHAPTER · JANET BUCK | RETIREE · JANET BUCK FOR JOYCE BUCK | RETIREE · JANICE CLINE | RETIREE/ YORK CHAPTER CHAIR & EC MEMBER · JEAN-JACQUES STRAYER | RETIREE/ FACULTY · JOAN BECKERMAN | MEMBER/HOSTOS CHAPTER MEMBER -OFFICER AT LARGE · JOAN ZLOTNICK | MEMBER · JOEL BERGER | MEMBER/DELEGATE · JOHN ATHANASOURELIS | MEMBER · JOHN BOWMAN | RETIREE · JOHN GILLEN | MEMBER · JOHN HAMMOND | MEMBER/ACTIVIST · JOHN HYLAND | RETIREE/ FORMER PSC EC MEMBER, LAGUARDIA CC CHAPTER CHAIR, DELEGATE · JOHN MAGEL | MEMBER · JOHN MOLINA | MEMBER · JOHN ZIEGLER | MEMBER · JONATHAN BUCHSBAUM | RETIREE · JORGE MATOS | MEMBER · JUAN PRECIADO | MEMBER · JUDE ADENIJI | MEMBER · JUDITH ANDERSON | MEMBER · JUDITH KUPPERSMITH | MEMBER · JULIE TRACHMAN | MEMBER · JULIO LUIS HERNÁNDEZ DELGADO | RETIREE · KAREN ANDERSON | RETIREE · KATE GARRETSON | MEMBER · KATHLEEN BARKER | MEMBER/FORMER PSC EC MEMBER & GRIEVANCE OFFICER · KATHLEEN KOVACH | MEMBER · KENNETH ERICKSON | RETIREE · KIP ZEGERS | MEMBER · KRISTINA BAINES | MEMBER/GUTTMAN CHAPTER CHAIR · LAROI LAWTON | MEMBER · LAUREL CUMMINS | MEMBER · LAUREN WOLF | MEMBER · LAURENCE BRENNER | MEMBER · LENNY ROMANO | MEMBER · LESLIE FRANCIS | MEMBER · LISA FLANZRAICH | RETIREE · LISANETTE ROSARIO | MEMBER · LISSETTE ACOSTA-CORNIEL | MEMBER · LIZETTE COLÓN | RETIREE/ FORMER PSC EXEC BD. MEMBER, HOSTOS CHAPTER CHAIR AND DELEGATE · LOLLY MCIVER | RETIREE · LORRAINE COHEN | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER CHAIR AND VP OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES · LOURDES ROSARIO | MEMBER · LYDIA ROSNER, PHD | MEMBER · M. LAURA BARBERAN REINARES | MEMBER · MADELINE CRUZ | MEMBER · MAISIE MCADOO | MEMBER · MARCELLA BENCIVENNI | MEMBER /HOSTOS CO-CHAPTER CHAIR & DELEGATE · MARCIA RETREY | RETIREE · MARIA PSARELLI | MEMBER · MARIA TREGLIA | MEMBER · MARIANNE PITA | MEMBER /FORMER CHAPTER CHAIR & DELEGATE/ PROFESSOR · MARILYN KATZ | LECTURER · MARINO CORNIEL | MEMBER/REPRESENTATIVE OF HOSTOS CC COLLEGE LABORATORY TECHNICIANS · MARJORIE BLUM | MEMBER · MARJORIE GARRIDO | MEMBER · MARK BROWN | MEMBER · MARK SCHIEBE | MEMBER · MARK TURNER | RETIREE · MARK ZUSS | RETIREE/FACULTY · MARKUS BIDELL | GRIEVANCE COUNSELOR · MARVA LILLY | RETIREE/PSC EC & RETIREE EC · MARY JONES | MEMBER · MARY L SURI | MEMBER · MARY NEVINS | MEMBER · MATTHEW SHALETTE | MEMBER · MAUREEN KAST | MEMBER · MAUREEN LAMAR | MEMBER/DELEGATE · MAYRA MOJICA | MEMBER · MEG KALLMAN FEELEY | RETIREE · MELISSA BRITO | MEMBER · MERCEDES DIAZ | MEMBER · MICHAEL A. KRASNER | RETIREE/FORMER VICE CHAIR QUEENS COLLEGE CHAPTER · MICHAEL C. LIU | MEMBER · MICHAEL ENGBER | RETIREE · MICHAEL KAHN | MEMBER · MICHAEL KRASSNER | RETIREE · MIMI ABRAMOVITZ | RETIREE · MIMI FAHS | RETIREE · MURIEL KNOBLOCH | MEMBER · MYRA H HAUBEN | RETIREE · NANCY CORRIGAN | MEMBER · NANCY HEMMES | MEMBER · NANCY OLEY | RETIREE · NATASHA YANNACAÑEDO | MEMBER · NÉLIDA PASTORIZA | RETIREE · NELSON REYNOSO | MEMBER · NORBERTO HERNANDEZ | MEMBER · OLGA STEINBERG | MEMBER · OLIVIA WONG | MEMBER · P. DICKE | RETIREE · PABLO CABRERA | RETIREE · PATRICIA FAVALE | MEMBER · PAULA KORSKO | MEMBER · PENELOPE TERRY-ALFORD | RETIREE · PETER KOLOZI | MEMBER/ BCC CHAPTER CHAIR · PETER MOLLER | MEMBER · PHILIPP ROTHMALER | MEMBER · RAIN BENGIS | RETIREE · RAMÓN ALBINO | MEMBER · RAQUEL OTHEGUY | MEMBER · RASHEEN ALLEN | MEMBER · RICHARD KAUFMAN | MEMBER · RIMA BLAIR | RETIREE · ROBERT COWEN | RETIREE/CHAIRMAN OF THE PSC SOCIAL SAFETY NET COMMITTEE · ROBERT NELSON | RETIREE · ROBERT SCOTT | MEMBER · ROBERTA KLIBANER | MEMBER · ROSA ALICIA RAMOS | RETIREE · ROSALIND PETCHESKY | RETIREE · ROSE ORTIZ | RETIREE · ROSEMARY JIMÉNEZ | MEMBER · SALLY METTLER | RETIREE · SANDRA A. STUMBO | RETIREE · SHARON ELLERTON | MEMBER · SHARON PERSINGER | MEMBER/PSC EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS UNIVERSITY-WIDE OFFICER · SHAZIA KHAN | MEMBER · SOLOMON PICOU | MEMBER · STACIA READER | MEMBER · STUART ZUCKERBERG | MEMBER/HEO CHAPTER CHAIR · SUNEJ HANS | MEMBER · SUNIL BHASKARAN | MEMBER · SUNNY AHN | MEMBER · SUSAN AMPER | MEMBER · SUSAN SCHINDLER | MEMBER · SUSANA RIVERA | MEMBER · SUZANNE NICOLETTI-KRASE | MEMBER · TAMAR ROTHENBERG | MEMBER · TERESA MCMANUS | MEMBER · THELMA ITHIER-STERLING | MEMBER · THERESA SMALEC | MEMBER · TODD BORESSOFF | MEMBER · TODD HOLDEN | MEMBER · TOM JENNINGS | RETIREE · VICKI GARAVUSO | MEMBER · VICTOR DE LEÓN | RETIREE · VICTORIA A. CHEVALIER | MEMBER/ IN-HOUSE GRIEVANCE COUNSELOR · VIVIAN GRUDER | RETIREE · WILLIAM WHITE | MEMBER · YOLANDA SOTO | MEMBER · **RETIREE** · MORRIS RABINOWITZ | MEMBER · **RETIREES ASSOCIATION** · ROSALIE HARMAN | RETIREE · **RSA** · BARNETT COHEN | MEMBER/ TRUSTEE · **RTC** · PHYLLIS CHOSET | MEMBER · **SAG** (**SCREEN ACTORS GUILD**) · CHARLES WING | MEMBER · **SANITATION OFFICERS ASSOCIATION LOCAL 444** · ANGELO VINCENZI | MEMBER · ANTHONY FICANO | MEMBER · ANTHONY MAMMOLITO | RETIREE · BARBARA MURPHY | RETIREE/ SPOUSE · C. COMPTON | MEMBER · CARL TRIANO | MEMBER · CARMINE GIGLIO | RETIREE · CHARLES J. JORDAN | MEMBER · DANIEL BROWN | MEMBER · FERNANDO VELAZQUEZ | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD · FERNANDO VELÁZQUEZ | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD · FRANK CARAPAZZA | MEMBER · GENE CASSARA | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD/ SHOP STEWARD · JAMES FARREN | RETIREE · JOE PESCADOR | RETIREE · JOHN KENNEDY | MEMBER · JOHN MANNA | MEMBER · JOHN MCGROARTY | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · JOHN NAIMOLI | SUPERVISOR · JOHN PARRA | MEMBER · JOSE PESCADOR | MEMBER · JOSEPH FELIX | MEMBER · MARIO BONANNO | MEMBER · MARK FILIPPI | RETIREE · MARTIN KACZERSKI | MEMBER · MICHAEL BIMONTE | RETIREE · NORMAN SMITH | RETIREE · PATRICK CONWAY | MEMBER · PATRICK RIZZO | MEMBER · PAUL OSOFSKY | RETIREE · PEDRO SIERRA | MEMBER · PETER GIBBONS | MEMBER · RAUL GONZÁLEZ JR | MEMBER · REGINA BROAD | RETIREE/SPOUSE · RICHARD CUSUMANO | MEMBER · RICHARD GARGANO | MEMBER · ROBERT COLE | MEMBER · ROBERT LAURI | RETIREE · ROBERT M TOZZI | MEMBER · ROBERT MONAHAN | MEMBER · RONALD OLDFIELD | RETIREE · SALVATORE DELLA PERUTA | MEMBER · STEVE HODOVAN | RETIREE · VICTOR GONZÁLEZ | MEMBER · VINCENT PALAZZOLA | MEMBER · VINCENT PROVENZANO | MEMBER · VINCENT QUAGLIARIELLO | MEMBER · WILLIAM LONGMORE | MEMBER · WILLIAM MEANEY | MEMBER · **SANITATION UNION OFFICERS LOCAL 444** · MICHAEL J BOHAN | MEMBER · PAUL CINTORINO | MEMBER · **SEIU** · BARBARA MCDOWELL | MEMBER · HOLLY BRANDWEN | MEMBER · J. RICH PAOLINO | RETIREE · **SEIU LOCAL 246 MECHANICS** · CHAS BRANCATO | RETIREE · DOMINICK GRAFFEO | MEMBER · **SEIU LOCAL 300** · ANNE BEACH | RETIREE · JOHN MCKAIE | MEMBER · **SEIU LOCAL 621** · CARL M. CHIARAMONTE | RETIREE · JOHN F. KAY | RETIREE · RALPH CUOMO | MEMBER · RICHARD ALVAREZ | MEMBER · TED REICH | MEMBER · **SPOUSE OF RETIRED PBA MEMBER** · SUSAN ROZEK | RETIREE · **SPOUSE OF RETIREE** · BEVERLY G CHURCH | RETIREE · **SSEU LOCAL 371** · DENISE WORRELK | DELEGATE · MILIGROS CRISPIN | DELEGATE · PHILIP MERKEL | RETIREE · SAM AND STEPHANIE LEVINE | RETIREE/ACTIVISTS · **TEAMSTERS** · CAROL A. DRISCOLL | RETIREE/FUND ADMINISTRATOR · LAURIE TANENBAUM | RETIREE/UNION STEWARD · **TEAMSTERS LOCAL 237/CSBA** (**CIVIL SERVICE BAR ASSOCIATION**) · ANNA FORTGANG | MEMBER · ANTHONY VALLARIO | MEMBER · BONNIE CURRY | RETIREE · CHRISTINE JORDAN | MEMBER · DARRYL MILES | MEMBER · DEBBIE SILBERSTEIN | MEMBER · DENNIS ROSENFELD | RETIREE/FORMER SHOP STEWARD FOR NYCHA · ELLEN GOTTLIEB | MEMBER · FRED CANTOR | MEMBER · GEORGE MALAVE | RETIREE · GLORIA JOHNSON | RETIREE · JACQUELINE PIVAWER | RETIREE · JESSE KASOWITZ | RETIREE/ FORMER CSBA BOARD MEMBER & UNION REP · JOSEF FLASCHNER | RETIREE · JULIA BRUNO | MEMBER · KAREN MILLER | RETIREE · KATHLEEN LUCKE | MEMBER · LAURIE KAYE | MEMBER · LEE BENNETT | MEMBER · LEE JACOBSON | MEMBER · LINDA TAVOLARO | MEMBER · LOU DEBELLIS | MEMBER · LYLE MINOGUE | RETIREE · MARVIN COHEN | MEMBER · MICHAEL GENEE | MEMBER · MIGUEL SÁNCHEZ | MEMBER · NAT STEELE | MEMBER · PAULA LEVINE | MEMBER · REVA EGDAL | RETIREE · ROBERT SILBERSTEIN | RETIREE/BOARD DIRECTOR · ROBIN WEINER | RETIREE/FORMER REP · SUSAN HUOT | MEMBER · VINCENT VERDI | MEMBER/BOARD OF DIRECTORS · WALTER HOFFMANN | STOCKHANDLER · WILLIAM DEMARCO | MEMBER · WILLIAM G SHENTON | RETIREE · YVETTE CABAN | MEMBER · **TEAMSTERS LOCAL 831** · ANDREW DEJOSEPH | MEMBER · ANTHONY AMORE | RETIREE · ANTHONY GERARD GRISOLIA | MEMBER · BARBARA ANN GRISOLIA | MEMBER · CARMINE VITALE | RETIREE · CHARLES F. MEZZADRI | RETIREE · CHARLES JOHNSON | MEMBER · CHARLES JORDAN | MEMBER · CHARLES MOORE | MEMBER · CHARLES TARANOW | MEMBER · FREDERICK DONO | MEMBER · JOHN PETCHONKA | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD M.E # 5 ON NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE · JOSEPH J. MATTHEWS | MEMBER · MITCHELL MARCHESE | MEMBER · PAUL PIZZOLO | MEMBER/SHOP STEWARD · PETER J.MONDIELLO | MEMBER · PETER PULEO | MEMBER · RONALD DENIG | RETIREE · RONALD NUZZI | RETIREE/SHOP STEWARD 23 YRS · VITO RAGOLIA | RETIREE · **TWU** · ANITA CLINTON | RETIREE · ANNE O'MALLEY | MEMBER · KAREN GONZALEZ | RETIREE · RICHARD COSTARELLA | RETIREE · RONALD SCAVUZZO | MEMBER · **TWU LOCAL 100** · DONOVAN SMITH | RETIREE · JACK EPTER | RETIREE · JOE JAMISON | RETIREE · JULIO RIVERA | RETIREE/FORMER VICE PRESIDENT · LLOYD ARCHER | RETIREE/FORMER DIVISION CHAIRMAN · MITCHELL HOLMES | RETIREE/EXECUTIVE BD. · **TWU LOCAL 106** · KARL STULTS | MEMBER · **UAW LOCAL 1069** · RAYMOND SANTA MARIA | RETIREE · **UBCJ** · GARY FREIBERGER | RETIREE · **UC-AFT** · GLENN SHOR | MEMBER · **UCE OF FIT** (**NYSUT**) · SPENCER SCHEIN | RETIREE/ FORMER EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT · **UCE OF FIT LOCAL 3457** · PHILIP MILIO | RETIREE · **UFADBA** (**UNIFORMED FIRE ALARM DISPATCHERS BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION**) **IAFF LOCAL 4959** · FAYE SMYTH | PRESIDENT · STEPHEN CHROBET | MEMBER · BARBARA BAUMGARTEN | RETIREE · DENISE EVERS | MEMBER · **UFCT LOCAL 1460** · CAITLIN CAHILL | MEMBER · **UFT** · ADELE LYNN | MEMBER · ADELE NIEDERMAN | RETIREE · ADELE WILSON | RETIREE · ADRIAN KRINGAS | MEMBER · ADRIANNE SALZINGER | RETIREE · AHUVA HAIMSON | MEMBER · AIDA FASTAG CARVAJAL | MEMBER · AILEEN GRILL | MEMBER/ FORMER DELEGATE AND CHAPTER LEADER · ALAN FRIEDMAN | MEMBER · ALAN HORLICK | MEMBER · ALAN J BARRY | RETIREE · ALAN SCHULMAN | RETIREE · ALAN STEIN | RETIREE · ALBERT GROSS | RETIREE · ALENE SILVER | RETIREE · ALICE CHIAPPETTA | RETIREE · ALICE CRESPI | MEMBER · ALICE NAGEL | RETIREE · ALICE WOO | RETIREE · ALISON BLUME REASE | RETIREE · ALLAN GLATMAN | MEMBER · ALYSEN BONDY | RETIREE · AMALIA DEE PAOLINO | RETIREE · AMERCY SHIELDS | MEMBER · AMY PRUDHOMME | RETIREE · ANA ACEVEDO | MEMBER · ANDREA LUSTER | RETIREE · ANDREI KAPRALOV | MEMBER · ANDREW MATZKOW | RETIREE · ANGELA CATALANO | RETIREE · ANGELA CIPRIANO | RETIREE · ANGELA FALLETTA BRESSI | MEMBER · ANGELA HIGGINS | MEMBER · ANGELA RIZZO | RETIREE · ANITA CABRERA | RETIREE · ANITA DUTT | RETIREE/DELEGATE · ANITA MAURINO | RETIREE · ANITA MORGANSTERN | MEMBER · ANN ELTERMAN | MEMBER · ANN GUASTADISEGNI | RETIREE · ANN LAVELLE | RETIREE · ANN MAKRIS | MEMBER · ANN MARIE STERN | MEMBER · ANN POLTORACK | RETIREE · ANN WISHNIA | MEMBER · ANNA LEIBOVICH | RETIREE · ANNA MARIE MOTTOLA | MEMBER · ANNA PASCALE | MEMBER · ANNA PETRO | RETIREE · ANNA PROSCIA | MEMBER · ANNA SCHNEIDER | MEMBER · ANNE FERGUSOM | MEMBER · ANNE GOLDFEDER | RETIREE · ANNE KAUFMAN | MEMBER · ANNE KEANE BEEHLER | MEMBER · ANNE LAMBERT | MEMBER · ANNE LIGUORI | RETIREE · ANNE MARIE CICCIU | RETIREE · ANNETTE DAVID ZABLE | MEMBER · ANNETTE SCHMELL | RETIREE · ANNIE BRICKEL | RETIREE · ANNMARIE ILLIANO | MEMBER · ANTONIA LASPINA | MEMBER · ANTONIA M. MOHAN | RETIREE · APHRODITE KOKOTSIS | RETIREE · ARLEEN FEIVELSON | RETIREE · ARLENE ALCOSSER | MEMBER · ARLENE BIANCHI | MEMBER · ARLENE MADONICK | MEMBER · ARLENE PINEDA | MEMBER · ARLENE RACHANSKY | MEMBER · ARLENE SILVER | RETIREE · ARLENE SIMON | MEMBER · ARLENE SOFFERMAN | RETIREE · ARLENE TENDLER KREINDLER | RETIREE · ARLENE TOLOPKO | RETIREE · ARLENE UGENBRAUN | RETIREE · ARLINE CUTLER | MEMBER · ARLYNE LE SCHACK | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · ARTHUR FREIFELD | RETIREE · ARTHUR GETZEL | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · AUDREY KIMMEL HUSTON | RETIREE · AUDREY SLATER | MEMBER · AUDREY TABANKIN | MEMBER · B. JACKSON | MEMBER · B. RUDNICK | MEMBER · BARBARA BEER | MEMBER · BARBARA BRASELL | MEMBER · BARBARA BRECKER | RETIREE · BARBARA BRENNAN | RETIREE · BARBARA CRUCIATA | RETIREE · BARBARA EPSTEIN | MEMBER · BARBARA FIELDS | MEMBER · BARBARA FURTH | RETIREE · BARBARA GOLDFARB | RETIREE · BARBARA GOLDSTEIN | RETIREE · BARBARA GRILL | MEMBER · BARBARA IASON | RETIREE · BARBARA ISENSTADT | MEMBER · BARBARA KASAVANA | MEMBER · BARBARA KEARNEY | MEMBER · BARBARA LASON | RETIREE · BARBARA LEVIN | MEMBER · BARBARA MASON | MEMBER · BARBARA MINCHENBERG | MEMBER · BAR

FORMER DELEGATE · ELLEN O'REILLY | MEMBER · ELLEN RATISHER | MEMBER · ELLEN SCHONFELD | MEMBER · ELLEN SHUGRUE | MEMBER · ELLEN SOLOMON | MEMBER/UNION REP. · ELLEN WINKLER | MEMBER · ELLIE GROSSMAN | RETIREE/TEACHER · ELLIOT D. BODNER | RETIREE/FORMER UFT REPRESENTATIVE FOR 11 YEARS · ELLIOT KESSLER | MEMBER/CHAPTER CHAIR · ELLIOTT PERMAN | MEMBER · ELSA PEREIRA | RETIREE · ELSA PLATE PATTI | MEMBER · ELVIRA SEMINARA | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · ELYSE ABRAMSON | RETIREE · ELYSE BENCIVENGA | MEMBER · ELYSE BERKOWITZ | MEMBER · EMILIE EPSTEIN | RETIREE · ENRIQUE MARTÍNEZ | RETIREE · ERICA RHINE | MEMBER · ERICA STRUSS | MEMBER · ERIKA TUTON | RETIREE · ERIN DUFFY | MEMBER · ERIN GARRITY | MEMBER · ERNEST MAGINSKY | RETIREE · ESTELLE DUNN | RETIREE · ESTER A QUINN | RETIREE · ESTHER APPEL | MEMBER · ESTHER COHEN | RETIREE · ETHEL HIRSHON | MEMBER · EVA HEISLER | MEMBER · EVA MORRIS | MEMBER · EVELYN DAMERS | RETIREE · EVELYN FIGUEROA | MEMBER · EVELYN RODRÍGUEZ | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER & DELEGATE · EVELYN SCHECHTER | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · EVELYN SILBERMAN | RETIREE · EVELYN SINGER | MEMBER · FAY AARONSON | RETIREE · FAY BONACORSI | RETIREE · FAYE LANDSMAN | RETIREE · FAYE PIZZUTI | RETIREE · FELICE ROMANO | MEMBER · FIDELITA ZOHOSKI | RETIREE · FLORENCE LAW | MEMBER/ CHAPTER LEADER · FLORENCE NALABOFF | MEMBER · FLORENCE TUCHMAN SHOMER | MEMBER · FRAN BERK | MEMBER · FRAN FIOTO | MEMBER · FRAN LOWITZ | MEMBER · FRAN NAYOWITZ | RETIREE · FRAN WEINER | MEMBER · FRANCES CANI | RETIREE · FRANCES DELLACAVA | RETIREE · FRANCES FISHER | MEMBER · FRANCES GUTKIND-BENBARUCH | MEMBER · FRANCES LAMAJ | MEMBER · FRANCES SKOLNICK | RETIREE · FRANCESCO LERARDO | RETIREE · FRANCINE COLACCI | MEMBER · FRANCINE M. CUNDARI | MEMBER · FRANCIS LOMBARDO | RETIREE/CHAPTER REP. · FRANCISCA RIVERA | MEMBER · FRANK FANELLI | MEMBER · FRANK P. UZZO | TEACHER · FREDVELIA E. VIRELLA | RETIREE · GABRIELLA CORRIGAN | MEMBER · GABRIELLE IRLINGER DINGLE | TEACHER · GAETANA COPE | MEMBER · GAIL GODBERG | RETIREE · GAIL GOLDMAN | MEMBER · GAIL HENDLER | MEMBER · GAIL KITT | MEMBER · GAIL LINDENBERG | MEMBER · GAIL MEGNA | MEMBER · GAIL ROSENBLOOM | RETIREE · GAIL SMITH | RETIREE · GAIL STEIN | MEMBER · GARY COHEN | MEMBER · GARY GROVER | RETIREE · GAYLE CALIMESE | MEMBER · GENE LUBOW | RETIREE · GEORGE CRAMER | MEMBER /FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · GEORGE NOVICK | MEMBER/CHAPTER CHAIR · GEORGE ZALANTIS | RETIREE · GEORGEANNE DEMBY | RETIREE · GEORGEANNE DEMBY | RETIREE · GEORGIA CHRISTGAU | RETIREE · GEORGIANE TANZI | MEMBER · GERALD TREVOR | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER & DELEGATE · GERALDINE C VIANI | MEMBER · GERALDINE DECKER | MEMBER · GERALDINE MECHANIC-GROSSMAN | RETIREE · GERARD R.ROSENTHAL | RETIREE · GERI APPEL | MEMBER · GERI KRIM | RETIREE · GIANCARLO MALCHIODI | MEMBER · GLADYS OSOFSKY | RETIREE · GLADYS SARMIENTO | RETIREE · GLENN KRESSNER | RETIREE · GLORIA BOARDMAN | RETIREE · GLORIA BRANDMAN | RETIREE · GLORIA FINKELSTEIN | RETIREE · GLORIA FLORES LUGO | RETIREE · GLORIA GARSON | RETIREE · GORDON GILBERT JR | RETIREE · GRACE CAMPANA | RETIREE · GRACE CANTELMO | MEMBER · GRACE COSENTINO | RETIREE · GRACE VASQUEZ | RETIREE · GREGORY DI STEFANO | RETIREE · GUADALUPE COLL | MEMBER · HARKEY BRANITZ | MEMBER · HARRIET GLASSMAN | RETIREE/ CHAPTER LEADER · HARRIET RABUNSKI | MEMBER · HARRY SHIFMAN | TEACHER · HARVEY SAMUELS | MEMBER · HAYDEÉ SERRANO | RETIREE · HEATHER S SUSSMAN JOHNSON | RETIREE · HECTOR H. FASTAG-CARBAJAL | MEMBER · HELEN KELLERT | MEMBER · HELEN LEE VELARDI | TEACHER · HELEN MARKUS | MEMBER · HELEN PINE | MEMBER · HELEN REICHEL | RETIREE · HELENE BERMAN | MEMBER · HELENE BUDZINSKI | RETIREE · HELENE MANAS | RETIRED · HENRY LEE | RETIREE · HERBERT MADONICK | MEMBER · HILARIE GOTTLIEB | RETIREE · HOLLACE FARBER | TEACHER · HOLLY SIGMAN | RETIREE · HOLLY SPRINGER | RETIREE · HOLLYCE YOKEN | RETIREE · HONEY NEIER | MEMBER · HONORE BELETTI | RETIREE · HOWARD ARNOLD | MEMBER · HOWARD SANDICK | MEMBER · HOWARD STREIM | RETIREE · HSIN-YU WANG | MEMBER · IDA WEISSER | RETIREE · ILENE FELDSTEIN | MEMBER · INGRID LINTON | RETIREE · IOANNA ZIPITAS | RETIREE · IOSIF BARKAN | MEMBER · IRA BERNSTEIN | MEMBER · IRA GOLDFINE | MEMBER/CHAPTER CHAIR · IRA RICH | MEMBER · IRENE COTTER | MEMBER · IRENE CRUZ | MEMBER · IRENE DANIELS | RETIREE · IRENE GINIS | RETIREE · IRENE HAMMER | MEMBER · IRENE KOPELMAN | RETIREE · IRENE SCHWARTZ | RETIREE · IRENE WEISS | MEMBER · IRIS BRAHMS | MEMBER · IRIS ESKOW | MEMBER · IRIS LEVINE | MEMBER · IRIS SCHAUM | MEMBER · IRIS SILVERSTEIN | MEMBER · IRV BECKER | MEMBER/DELEGATE · ISABEL COTARELO | RETIREE · ISABEL VINHAS | RETIREE · IVETTE AGURTO | MEMBER · IVY LEWIS-GOLDBERG | RETIREE · J A STAVOLA | MEMBER · J. CUCOS | MEMBER · J.LEVINE | MEMBER · JACALYN STANGER | RETIREE · JACKIE HERMAN | RETIREE/ CHAPTER LEADER, AFT DELEGATE · JACKIE LEOPOLD | RETIREE · JACOB SUGAR | TEACHER · JACQUELINE HERBSMAN | RETIREE · JACQUELINE HOFFMANN | MEMBER · JACQUELINE SCHOENHAUS-BARNETT | MEMBER · JACQUELINE SIEGEL-FRASCELLA | MEMBER · JACQUELINE SVATOVIC | MEMBER · JACQUELYN BERGSTEIN | RETIREE · JAMES BONCZEK | MEMBER · JAMES CORWIN | MEMBER · JAMES KEARNEY | MEMBER · JAMES TRUDGEN | RETIREE · JAMIE GAUTREAU | RETIREE · JAMIE O'BRIEN | MEMBER · JAN STEUERMAN | TEACHER · JANE BLUMBERG | MEMBER · JANE FISCHER | MEMBER · JANE GRODIN | RETIREE/ CHAPTER LEADER · JANE PIERATTI | MEMBER · JANE SCHULMAN | MEMBER · JANE TRINGALI | MEMBER · JANET BRODSKY | MEMBER · JANET F. MOSCUZZA | RETIREE · JANET KLEIN | MEMBER · JANET MAHONEY | MEMBER · JANET NEWTON | MEMBER/CHAPTER LEADER · JANET NINIVAGGI | RETIREE · JANET RASHES | RETIREE · JANET SIBARIUM | RETIREE · JANICE A DONOGHUE | RETIREE · JANICE DILLMAN | MEMBER · JANICE SILLS | RETIREE · JAY BARMON | RETIREE · JAY KUSHNER | RETIREE · JAYNE ANN STEVOLA | RETIREE · JEANNE DRISCOLL | RETIREE · JEANNE JIMÉNEZ | RETIREE · JEANNE MONTUORI | RETIREE · JEANNE RIVAS | MEMBER · JEANNETTE KNOWLES | MEMBER · JEANNIE KOURAKOS | RETIREE · JEFFREY ELKIND | RETIREE · JEFFREY KRUMPER | MEMBER · JERROLD WEIS | TEACHER · JERYL LEGIONS | MEMBER · JESSICA KERR | RETIREE · JESSIE STANTIN | MEMBER/ DELEGATE · JILL SHAIFER | MEMBER · JILL VOLETSKY | MEMBER · JIM HUGHED | MEMBER/ CHAPTER LEADER · JO BETH GREENBAUM | MEMBER · JOAN CHABROWE | MEMBER · JOAN CONSIDINE | MEMBER · JOAN KISSEL | RETIREE · JOAN KLINE | RETIREE · JOAN M. PERRINO | RETIREE · JOAN MILLER | RETIREE · JOAN NICOTRA | RETIREE · JOAN PERKIEL | MEMBER · JOAN PERRINO | MEMBER · JOAN POSSNER | MEMBER · JOAN RELICH | MEMBER · JOAN ROSEN | MEMBER · JOAN SANDICK | MEMBER · JOAN SHAPIRO | RETIREE · JOAN SIEGEL | MEMBER · JOAN SILVERMAN | MEMBER · JOANN HART | MEMBER · JOANN LYNCH | MEMBER · JOANN SEGAL | MEMBER · JOANNE BELLI | MEMBER · JOANNE BROZIER | RETIREE · JOANNE COLUCCI | MEMBER · JOANNE HORGAN | MEMBER · JOANNE NELSON | RETIREE · JOANNE PENKAVA | RETIREE · JOANNE POCCI | RETIREE · JOANNE POCCIA | RETIREE · JOANNE TEPEDINO | MEMBER · JOE CAMPBELL | MEMBER · JOEL RAUCH | RETIREE · JOEL SHUFRO | RETIREE · JOEL SIMON | RETIREE · JOHN BERNATH | RETIREE · JOHN COLN | MEMBER · JOHN MICHAEL LUX | RETIREE · JOHN VOLPE | RETIREE · JOHN YAEGER | MEMBER · JONATHAN GRAY | MEMBER · JONATHAN TURKEL | TEACHER · JORGE MITEY | RETIREE · JOSEPH DUBOFSKY | MEMBER · JOSEPH LOWENBRAUN | MEMBER · JOSEPHINE MARTINEZ DESTEFANO | RETIREE · JOY AGATI | MEMBER · JOY LEFTOW | MEMBER · JOYANN MAKAREWICZ | MEMBER · JOYCE GOLDMAN | MEMBER/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · JOYCE KAVANAUGH | RETIREE · JOYCE NOVICK | RETIREE · JOYCE SOLIVAN | MEMBER · JOYCE VIGORITO | TEACHER · JUDITH ACKERMAN | MEMBER · JUDITH CHACHKES | MEMBER · JUDITH CUCINOTTA | RETIREE · JUDITH DAHILL | RETIREE · JUDITH FEINBERG | MEMBER · JUDITH GLASSER | MEMBER · JUDITH GREENBERG | MEMBER · JUDITH H. BLOCK | RETIREE · JUDITH KRAUS | RETIREE · JUDITH LOEBL | RETIREE · JUDITH SCHAFFNER | MEMBER · JUDITH VEDER | RETIREE · JUDY BENAS | TEACHER · JUDY BIRNBAUM | MEMBER · JUDY CORDA | RETIREE · JUDY GERRY | MEMBER · JUDY KARLINSKY | MEMBER · JUDY MANTON | MEMBER · JUDY PIQUE | RETIRED · JUDY SHULMAN | MEMBER · JULIA MCGUIRE | RETIREE · JULIETTE GIORGIO | MEMBER · JUMARA ASCHETTINO | MEMBER · JUNE FEIGENBLATT | RETIREE · K. PECORELLA | RETIREE · KAREN ALAPLAN | MEMBER · KAREN BAIRD | MEMBER · KAREN BROOKS | MEMBER · KAREN COLEMAN | MEMBER · KAREN E. PETERS | RETIREE · KAREN ENGEL | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · KAREN ENRIGHT | MEMBER · KAREN FINE | RETIREE · KAREN HALPERN | MEMBER · KAREN HEFTER | RETIREE · KAREN JORDAN | MEMBER · KAREN KAPLAN | MEMBER · KAREN LAMBERTI | RETIREE · KAREN MELTZER | MEMBER · KAREN SCHEER | MEMBER · KAREN SCIALO-COHEN | MEMBER/CHAPTER LEADER · KAREN SILVERMAN | RETIREE · KAREN STEPHENSON | RETIREE · KAREN THORBURN | RETIREE · KAREN WASSERMAN | RETIREE · KARYN TRIPMACHER | MEMBER · KATHERINE BIRMINGHAM | MEMBER · KATHERINE GOLDBERG | RETIREE · KATHLEEN BONAVISA | RETIREE · KATHLEEN CARUANA | RETIREE · KATHLEEN CIANO | MEMBER · KATHLEEN HARDY | RETIREE · KATHLEEN KLEIN | RETIREE · KATHLEEN O'LEARY | RETIREE · KATHLEEN OLEARY | RETIREE · KATHLEEN ORLOFF | MEMBER · KATHLEEN PARENT | RETIREE · KATHLEEN SANCIMINO | MEMBER · KATHY DANIEL | RETIREE · KATHY O'LEARY | RETIREE · KATHY PALESTINO | RETIREE · KAY BEATON | MEMBER · KELLY STARR | RETIREE · KEN ORLAND | MEMBER · KEN ZAUG | MEMBER · KENNETH CHORZEWSKI | RETIREE · KENNETH EPSTEIN | MEMBER · KENNETH KELLY | RETIREE · KENNETH KUSHEL | MEMBER · KENNETH TYSON | MEMBER · KENNETH YANEK | MEMBER · KEVIN FARRELL | MEMBER · KRISTEN ALESIA | MEMBER · KRISTINA MIRUKU | MEMBER · L. PEARSON | MEMBER · LARAINE DEANGELIS | MEMBER · LARENE SZESZKO | RETIREE · LAURA BIDERMAN | MEMBER · LAURA BRODSKY | RETIREE · LAURA GENOVESE | RETIREE · LAURA KOULISH | MEMBER/EXEC BD. · LAURA O'GORMAN | MEMBER · LAURA REINA | MEMBER · LAURA ROBICHEK | RETIREE · LAUREEN AIELLO | RETIREE · LAUREN GEZZI | RETIREE · LAUREN SPIRO | MEMBER · LAURIE & STEVE SHOLINKY | RETIREE · LAURIE BERGER | MEMBER · LAURIE CAMPETELLA | MEMBER · LAURIE NELSON | MEMBER · LAURIE POSNER | MEMBER · LAWRENCE FEINSTEIN | RETIREE · LAWRENCE O'CONNELL | RETIREE · LEON BELL | RETIREE/ DELEGATE · LEONARD GOLDSTEIN | RETIREE · LEONARD KROOG | MEMBER · LÉRIDA O'REILLY | RETIREE · LESA WESTERMAN | RETIREE · LESA WESTERMN | RETIREE · LESLEE ROSENTHAL | RETIREE · LESLEY GEDELL | RETIREE · LESLIE DUBIN | MEMBER · LESLIE KEENA | MEMBER · LESLIE LAZARUS | MEMBER · LESLIE POPKIN | RETIREE · LIA LEONG | MEMBER · LILA ALEXANDER | RETIREE · LILA KORNGOLD | MEMBER · LILLIAN PRISCO | RETIREE · LILLIAN ZIMMERMAN | RETIREE · LINDA A PELC, PH.D. | MEMBER · LINDA BAUMGARTEN | RETIREE · LINDA BING | RETIREE · LINDA BUDARF | MEMBER · LINDA DELGAUDIO | MEMBER · LINDA GOODMAN | MEMBER · LINDA LASALA | MEMBER · LINDA LEVIN | MEMBER · LINDA MANDRACCHIA | MEMBER · LINDA MELLION | TEACHER · LINDA PALMER | RETIREE/ FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · LINDA ROSEN | RETIREE · LINDA ROSOFF | MEMBER · LINDA SEMINARO | RETIREE · LINDA TAFET | MEMBER · LINDA TREADWELL | RETIREE · LINDA ZERN | RETIREE · LISA A. WOHL | MEMBER · LISA BILELLO | MEMBER · LISA CORBELLE | RETIREE · LISA KAPLAN | MEMBER · LISA MOLHO | MEMBER · LISA WIDAWSKY | RETIREE · LISSA HALEN | RETIREE · LOIS BODNICK | RETIREE · LOIS BOLONKIN FISCH | MEMBER · LOIS GEIDEMAN | MEMBER · LOIS H. OFICK | RETIREE · LOIS OPPENHEIMER | RETIREE · LOREIN OZERY | MEMBER/DELEGATE · LORETTA FUNARO | RETIREE · LORETTA HENKE | RETIREE · LORI BUCHBINDER | RETIREE · LORI MASLOW | MEMBER · LORI SOREN | TEACHER · LORRAINE ASHEPA | RETIREE · LORRAINE FORRLER | MEMBER · LORRAINE MATTHEWS | MEMBER · LORRAINE PEARSON | MEMBER · LORRY ZUCKERBROW | RETIREE · LOTUS LEONG | RETIREE · LOUISE BARTON | MEMBER/CHIEF SHOP STEWARD,VP · LOUISE SPITZBARTH | MEMBER · LOURDES FALCO | RETIREE · LUCILLE CANGELOSO | RETIREE · LUCY CARISETTI | RETIREE · LUCY CULHANE | RETIREE · LUCY VIRGA | MEMBER · LUCY ZASLOW | MEMBER · LUCYANNE ALBANO | RETIREE · LYANA GENOVESE | RETIREE · LYLA LIBERMAN | RETIREE · LYNDA COHEN | RETIREE · LYNDA HEIT | MEMBER · LYNDA SPOSATO | RETIREE · LYNDA VERIAS | MEMBER · LYNN ESKIN | MEMBER · LYNN FISHMAN | RETIREE · LYNN GORDONSON | MEMBER · LYNN HUNTER | MEMBER · LYNN ISAACSON | RETIREE · LYNN PLACEK | RETIREE · LYNN QUINN | MEMBER · LYNN ROSEN | RETIREE · LYNNE COHEN | MEMBER/CHAPTER LEADER · LYNNE RICKMAN | MEMBER · LYNNE SMITH | RETIREE · LYNNE SPINELLI | RETIREE · M. ATTAR | MEMBER · M. TALARICO | MEMBER · MADELINE DIORIO | MEMBER · MADELON GLYNN | MEMBER · MAGDALENA PÉREZ | MEMBER · MAGGIE BOYD | MEMBER · MARC LOONAN | RETIREE · MARC N. SIEGEL | MEMBER · MARCIA BIEDERMAN | MEMBER · MARCIA BINENBAUM | MEMBER · MARCIA CORSO | MEMBER · MARCIA DUBROW | TEACHER · MARCIA WEISER | RETIREE · MARGARET CUMMINGS | RETIREE · MARGARET FINNEGAN | MEMBER · MARGARET GROSSO | MEMBER · MARGARET LANG | MEMBER · MARGARET MCGOVERN | MEMBER · MARGARET ROWE | MEMBER · MARGARET SWING | MEMBER · MARGARITA MUINELO | MEMBER · MARGARITA RIVERA | MEMBER · MARGERY ORENSTEIN | RETIREE · MARGUERITE DURKIN | RETIREE · MARGUERITE L. ROGERS | RETIREE · MARGUERITE MARETT | RETIREE · MARIA BARILETTI | MEMBER · MARIA BATURAY | MEMBER · MARIA ESTHER SHAPIRO | MEMBER · MARIA JULIA GARCIA | MEMBER · MARIA SCHLOSSER | RETIREE · MARIANNE O'GRADY | RETIREE · MARIE CALANDRILLO-BROWN | MEMBER · MARIE CLIFT | RETIREE · MARIE D'AMELIO | RETIREE · MARIE GOLDBERG | RETIREE · MARIE RANIERI | MEMBER · MARIE VÁZQUEZ | RETIREE · MARILYN COHEN | RETIREE · MARILYN DIAMOND | RETIREE · MARILYN HAHN | RETIREE · MARILYN KAGGEN | RETIREE · MARILYN LEVINE | MEMBER · MARILYN SALVESEN | TEACHER · MARILYN SCHER | RETIREE · MARINA VOLPE | RETIREE · MARION DILL | RETIREE · MARISA COLUCCIO | MEMBER · MARJORIE GOLDBERG | MEMBER · MARJORIE KATTA | MEMBER · MARJORIE SHOFET | RETIREE/ TEACHER · MARK KLEIN | MEMBER/DELEGATE AFT , UFT DELEGATE, CHAPTER CHAIR · MARK MANAS | RETIREE · MARK SCHANZER | MEMBER · MARK STERNHEIM | RETIREE · MARLENE KING | RETIREE · MARLENE R PIKE | RETIREE · MARLENE SCHAEFER | RETIREE · MARSHA GREEN | MEMBER · MARSHA K MALITZ | MEMBER · MARSHA REISS | RETIREE · MARSHA SALZMAN | RETIREE · MARSHA SWAWITE | MEMBER · MARSHALL SIEGEL | MEMBER · MARTHA BORDMAN | RETIREE · MARTIN ESKOW | MEMBER · MARTIN SCHWIMMER | MEMBER · MARTIN SNELWAR | RETIREE · MARVIN SWAWITE | MEMBER · MARVIN TRAUB | MEMBER · MARY ANN FASTOOK | RETIREE · MARY ANN ORTIZ | MEMBER · MARY CIOFFI | MEMBER · MARY DENISI | MEMBER · MARY DI GREGORIO | RETIREE · MARY E. STAGER | MEMBER · MARY JANE THOMPSON | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER CHAIR, DELEGATE · MARY LOU BROWN | MEMBER · MARY MCNALLY FITZGERALD | MEMBER · MARY MIRANDA | RETIREE · MARY NUCCIO | RETIREE · MARY RAYMOND | MEMBER · MARY TREVOR | RETIREE · MARY VALENTI | RETIREE · MARYALICE BLACKMORE | MEMBER · MARYANN BATTAGLIA | RETIREE · MARYANN D'AMATO FANALE | RETIREE · MARYANN JANNACE | MEMBER · MARYANN LYONS | RETIREE · MARYANN SHUPACK | RETIREE · MATHEW SHAPIRO | RETIREE · MATTHEW FRISCH | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · MAURA GILLESPIE KAHN | MEMBER · MAUREEN CAHALAN | RETIREE · MAUREEN CURRAN | RETIREE · MAUREEN HUGHES | RETIREE · MAUREEN MADDEN | MEMBER · MAUREEN MCCARTHY | MEMBER · MAUREEN MCDERMOTT | MEMBER · MAUREEN PRICCI | RETIREE · MAUREEN SHANNON | MEMBER · MAURICE CULHANE | RETIREE · MAX STAPPLER | RETIREE · MAXINE AVEDON | RETIREE · MAXINE BROCOUM | MEMBER · MAXINE BRODY | MEMBER · MAXINE FICK | MEMBER · MAXINE GITTELSON | MEMBER · MEA AMBROSIO | RETIREE · MEG TORELLI | MEMBER · MEL LOWITZ | MEMBER · MELANIE PAPKOV | RETIREE · MELANIE PARSOWITH | MEMBER · MELANIE RESNICK | MEMBER · MELISSA WILBUR | RETIREE · MELVYN HAUSER | RETIREE/CHAPTER CHAIR AT PS 72X · MERLE GLASS | RETIREE/ FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · MERLE RATNER | MEMBER · MERYL CHODOSH-WEISS | RETIREE · MERYL SACKS | RETIREE · MICHAEL A. BLUME | MEMBER · MICHAEL BROCOUM | RETIREE · MICHAEL GRIECO | MEMBER · MICHAEL HAAS | MEMBER · MICHAEL L. LEVINE | MEMBER · MICHAEL LYNCH | MEMBER/FORMER UFT DELEGATE · MICHAEL MUCCIGROSSO | RETIREE · MICHELE DONAY | MEMBER · MICHELE MAHONEY | RETIREE · MICHELE RAYVID | RETIREE · MICHELINE WINTERS | RETIREE · MICHELLE CIRILLO | MEMBER · MICHELLE GONZALEZ | RETIREE · MICHELLE KUPFER | MEMBER · MILAGROS PARRALES | MEMBER · MIMI BLUESTONE | RETIREE · MINDI LO CICERO | RETIREE · MIRIAM GOMEZ | MEMBER · MIRTA GLYCK | MEMBER/DELEGATE · MITCHELL BERESA | MEMBER · MONICA FRIZELL | RETIREE · MONICA LEITMAN | RETIREE · MONROE WOLFERT | MEMBER · MORTON MINCHENBERG | MEMBER · MYRA STERNHEIM | RETIREE · MYRNA-SUE SHIMBERG | RETIREE · NANCY AMBROSIO | RETIREE · NANCY BOCCHINO | MEMBER · NANCY GETLIN | MEMBER · NANCY GUNTHER | MEMBER · NANCY HAYCOCK | SPOUSE OF A RETIRED TEACHER · NANCY K SHAW | RETIREE · NANCY KUSHNER | RETIREE · NANCY PARK | MEMBER · NANCY PARMET STITHAM | RETIREE · NANCY PECKIS | MEMBER · NANCY ROSENFELD | MEMBER · NANCY SWIFT | MEMBER · NAOMI AARONSON | MEMBER · NAOMI FISCH | RETIREE · NAOMI PARLITSIS | RETIREE · NAOMI SCHOEN | RETIREE · NAOMI TEPPICH | RETIREE · NATALIE MANSBACH | MEMBER · NATALIE TUZZA | MEMBER · NATHAN KAPLAN | RETIREE · NATLY ESNARD | MEMBER · NEILA COHEN | MEMBER · NÉLIDA RODRIGUEZ | RETIREE · NEME ALPERSTEIN | MEMBER · NICK GUARELLA | RETIREE · NINA DROOKER | RETIREE · NINA HERSCHBERG | MEMBER · NORA BARUSO | MEMBER · NORA RYAN | MEMBER · NORA TEGNI | RETIREE · NOREEN HORNER | MEMBER · NOREEN MALONE HIRNER | MEMBER · NORMA JOFFE | RETIREE · NYDIA MARTINEZ | MEMBER · O. COHEN | MEMBE · PAIGE FAZZINO | RETIREE · PAM SCHLUSSEL | MEMBER · PAMELA BENANTI | RETIREE · PAMELA GOLDSTEIN | MEMBER · PAMELA MEADOW | MEMBER · PAMELA NABLE | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · PAMELA SEULING | MEMBER · PAT BELL | RETIREE · PAT BLEICHMAN | MEMBER · PATIENCE WALLACE | RETIREE · PATRICIA ANN MURPHY | MEMBER · PATRICIA ANNE AVALLONE | RETIREE · PATRICIA BLEICHMAN | MEMBER · PATRICIA BOLGER | RETIREE/ CHAPTER LEADER · PATRICIA CAMPAGNA | MEMBER · PATRICIA CARTA | RETIREE · PATRICIA DOBOSZ | RETIREE · PATRICIA DONLON-STRAMKA | MEMBER · PATRICIA HARTMAN | RETIREE · PATRICIA KLEIN | RETIREE · PATRICIA LOBOSCO | RETIREE · PATRICIA LUCE | MEMBER · PATRICIA MARTINEZ | RETIREE · PATRICIA OLEARY | MEMBER · PATRICIA PAN | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · PATRICIA RAO | MEMBER · PATRICIA RISING | RETIREE · PATRICIA ROSS SPILLER | RETIREE · PATRICIA SHEEHAN | RETIREE · PATTY LOGAN | MEMBER · PAUL DEPACE | RETIREE/CHAPTER LEADER FOR 10 YEARS · PAUL F. HORNSTEIN | MEMBER · PAUL HELLER | MEMBER · PAUL PARSOWITH | MEMBER · PAULA FRIEDMAN | RETIREE · PAULA IZUMI | RETIREE · PAULA KARMIOL | MEMBER · PAULA KASHER | RETIREE · PAULA MCKINNON | MEMBER · PAULA PRAEGER | RETIREE · PAULA RUSSO | RETIREE · PAULA THESING | MEMBER · PAULA VAUGHAN | RETIREE · PAULINE GRILLIS | TEACHER · PEARL BELKOWITZ | RETIREE · PEGGY KOUTSANTONIS | MEMBER · PERRY BLONDER | RETIREE · PETER AGATI | RETIREE · PETER C. CHERR | MEMBER/CHAPTER LEADER · PETER CANGELOSO | RETIREE · PETER LUDWIG | MEMBER · PHIL ROSENTHAL | MEMBER · PHILIP ALTMARK | MEMBER · PHILIP KAHN | MEMBER · PHILIP SCHILDKRAUT | RETIREE · PHILIP SMOLLER | MEMBER · PHILIP STEINBACH | MEMBER · PHYLISS AUGUST | RETIREE · PHYLLIS CYPRESS | MEMBER · PHYLLIS DROBNER | MEMBER · PHYLLIS FINE | MEMBER · PHYLLIS GOLDBERG | RETIREE · PHYLLIS HELSCHEIN | MEMBER · PHYLLIS KALISH | MEMBER · PHYLLIS LIPMAN | RETIREE · PHYLLIS REICH | RETIREE · PHYLLIS RUSSO PETITO | RETIREE · PHYLLIS WEINBERGER | RETIREE · PJHYLLIS ATTARD | MEMBER · PRISCILLA PROSTOWICH | RETIREE · R. MALACH | MEMBER · R. SULINSKI | RETIREE · RACHEL COHN | MEMBER/CHAPTER CHAIR · RAE-ANN FISCHER | MEMBER · RANDI PORTNOY | RETIREE · RANDI SCHEY | MEMBER · RAY KENT | RETIREE · RAYMOND COHEN | RETIREE /FORMER DELEGATE · RAYMOND MATTHEW | RETIREE · RAYMOND SHAFFER | MEMBER · RAYMOND WEIS | MEMBER · REBECA TOLANY | MEMBER · REENA FETTNER | MEMBER · REGINA FARKAS | RETIREE · RENEE HERRIOTT | RETIREE · RENEE JACOBS | MEMBER · RENÉE MANDELL | RETIREE · RENEE PALMER | RETIREE · RENEE PFEFFERBAUM | MEMBER · RENEE ROSENBLUM | RETIREE · RENÉE SILVERSTEIN | RETIREE · REVA AMBROSE | MEMBER · REVA FISHNER | RETIREE · RHODA E. KLEIMAN | MEMBER · RHONA KAMER | RETIREE · RHONDA GOLD | MEMBER · RHONDA ROSENTHAL | RETIREE/ FORMER UNION DELEGATE · RICHARD MCCORMACK | MEMBER · RICHARD POSNER | RETIREE · RICHARD RUBIN | MEMBER · RICHARD RUSSO | RETIREE · RICHARD VITULLI | MEMBER · RICHARD WOLFF | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · RICK SOLOMON | RETIREE · RIMMA KUNIK | RETIREE · RISA PARLO | MEMBER · RITA HOHAUSER | MEMBER · RITA SHORE | RETIREE · RITA STRAVETS | RETIREE · ROBERT F. CARLINA | MEMBER · ROBERT HARRIS | RETIREE · ROBERT HORDOS | RETIREE · ROBERT NEWMARK | MEMBER · ROBERT PERLSON | MEMBER · ROBERT RADBEL | MEMBER/ REPRESENTATIVE · ROBERT RENDO | MARRIED TO UFT RETIREE · ROBERT ROTHENBERG | RETIREE · ROBERT W PIERCE | MEMBER · ROBERTA CAPON | RETIREE · ROBERTA GILSTON HECHT | MEMBER · ROBERTA HEIDEN | MEMBER · ROBERTA KARP | MEMBER · ROBERTA L. KLEIN | MEMBER · ROBERTA SPALTER | RETIREE · ROBERTA WEISS | MEMBER · ROBERTA WERTHEIM | MEMBER · ROBIN COHEN | RETIREE · ROBIN GOLDSTEIN | RETIREE · ROBIN MANDELL | RETIREE · ROBIN MILLER | RETIREE · ROBIN TIMOFEY | MEMBER · ROBYN GELLER | MEMBER · ROCHELLE BODNER | MEMBER · ROCHELLE KOSSOVER | RETIREE · ROCHELLE L. YAHYA | MEMBER/DELEGATE · ROCHELLE LEAL | MEMBER · ROCHELLE NEGRIN | RETIREE · ROCHELLE R. BERKELEY | RETIREE · ROCHELLE SMOLAR | RETIREE · RONALD F. BERMAN | MEMBER · RONALD HIRSHMAN | RETIREE · RONALD PLOTKIN | RETIREE · RONI ELOVITCH | MEMBER · RONI MILLER | RETIREE · RONNIE GREENBERG | RETIREE · ROSA LONGETTI | RETIREE · ROSALIE ISOLDI | MEMBER · ROSALIE REEVES | RETIREE · ROSALIND KLIBAN-WEIS | MEMBER · ROSALIND MACY | MEMBER · ROSALIND PANEPENTO | RETIREE/FORMER UFT CHAPTER CHAIR · ROSALYN AKERMAN | MEMBER · ROSANNE KIVIAT | RETIREE · ROSE ANN GOLDBERG | MEMBER · ROSE SULINSKI | RETIREE · ROSELEE GREENBERG | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE CATTUTI | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE CLARK | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE FLANAGAN-RIZVI | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE MANNO | RETIREE · ROSEMARIE THOMPSON | MEMBER · ROSEMARY PLUMSTEAD | RETIRED · ROSETTA PERVAN | MEMBER · ROSLYN STERNLIEB | MEMBER · ROWENA FLANK | RETIREE · ROZ EPSTEIN | MEMBER/CHAPTER LEADER · RUDOLPH CHITI | RETIREE · RUTH APTACKER | MEMBER · RUTH HAHAM | RETIREE/FORMER CHAPTER LEADER · RUTH JACOBS | MEMBER · RUTH NEUMAN | MEMBER · RUTH SHAPIRO | RETIREE · RUTH SNYDER | MEMBER · RUTH-ANN GREYSON | RETIREE/FORMER DELEGATE · S. 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ZUCKERMAN | RETIREE · SHANGSAN QIAN | MEMBER · SHARI MILLER | MEMBER · SHARON BOETTCHER | MEMBER · SHARON HANSEN | RETIREE · SHARON HERSHBERG | MEMBER · SHARON HOFFMAN | RETIREE · SHARON KORN | MEMBER · SHARON LEVINE | MEMBER · SHARON SCHULTZ | RETIREE · SHEBA MANDEL | MEMBER · SHEILA EISENBERG | RETIREE · SHEILA GROSS | RETIREE · SHEILA O'CONNOR | RETIREE · SHEILA ROSLER | RETIRED · SHEILA ROTHMAN | RETIREE · SHEILA SCHWARTZ | RETIREE · SHEILA ZUKOWSKY | RETIREE · SHELLDON SCHWARTZ | MEMBER · SHELLEY KREBS | MEMBER · SHELLEY MORA | RETIREE · SHELLEY RADBEL | MEMBER · SHELLY JONES | MEMBER · SHERALD WARD | MEMBER/DELEGATE · SHEREE SCHWARZ | MEMBER · SHERMAN CAMMEYER | MEMBER · SHERRIE PASARELL | RETIREE · SHERRY BERKLEY | RETIREE · SHERRY GLATTER | RETIREE · SHERRY POVERSTEIN | MEMBER · SHERRY RAPAPORT | MEMBER ·

THESE STREETS ARE OUR STREETS

FINDING HOME IN BAY RIDGE'S LITTLE PALESTINE

OLGA FEDOROVA

By Lara-Nour Walton

The first thing I do when I step off the R train and onto the platform at Bay Ridge Avenue is yank my keffiyeh out from the bottom of my backpack. Wearing the keffiyeh here is almost as ordinary as seeing a passerby don Nike Air Force 1s. Nobody gives you a second look — let alone a hard time. But then again, there are plenty of visions in Bay Ridge that one would not likely find outside of the tight-knit community in southern Brooklyn.

There's a makeshift al fresco arrangement on the sidewalk outside of a Gourmet Deli and Grill; elderly men sit in a circle sipping steaming tea and screaming about war and America. "Slow down habibi!" cry a group of boys as their friend runs ahead of them — a basketball lodged snugly under his armpit. A woman, decked out in an Al-Aqsa-Mosque-themed abaya, pushes a stroller down Fifth avenue. This is the whimsy of Little Palestine — it is an alternate America, a place where one is just as likely to see storefronts in Arabic as they are in English.

Bay Ridge is home to New York City's largest Arab community, made up of around 8,000 people or 10% of the neighborhood's total population, most of whom live in Little Palestine. Its demography constitutes a mosaic of ethnicities — chief among which are Palestinian, Yemeni and Egyptian. While the area boasts a pan-Arab populace and appeal, its Palestinian character shines through most, which has earned it the widely used nickname "Little Palestine." But, the locale has not always been a hub for the Arab diaspora.

A BAY RIDGE HISTORY:

Before the notion of diaspora ever existed in the United States, the indigenous Canarsee people of the Lenape tribe occupied the territory extending from the Upper Hudson Valley to Delaware Bay — thus encompassing what is known today as Bay Ridge. On this land, the Canarsee chiseled a sprawling trail system that spanned the entirety of present-day Brooklyn. Two of their settlements were anchored in Sunset Park — one along the waterfront pathway near Third Avenue and 37th Street, the other one four blocks to the east. Master fishers, the Canarsee hunted and gathered for sustenance.

However, the arrival of European colonists in the early 1600s upended their way of life. By the 1640s, the already-meager Canarsee population suffered tremendous losses as Dutch settlers foisted armed conflict and disease on the indigenous inhabitants. The last of the natives were displaced in the 1700s.

Such acts of foundational violence enabled the growth of Dutch colonist communities, which — due to the ochre hue of Bay Ridge's earth — dubbed the land Yellow Hook. But, as yellow fever ravaged New York, the name was changed to the more innocuous Bay Ridge.

Waves of immigration throughout the 1800s and 1900s transformed Bay Ridge into a diverse neighborhood of Irish, Italian and Scandinavian residents. During this time, Lebanese and Syrian Christians also began trickling in. However, the demographic shift that transformed Bay Ridge into an Arab enclave took place in the 1970s when Palestinians, Egyptians and Yemenis arrived in large numbers. "For us, the children of Arab immigrants," contended Egyptian-American community organizer, Abdallah Akl, "Bay Ridge is the closest that we can get to home."

BAY RIDGE TODAY:

Akl, who was born and raised in Sunset Park, is right. As an Egyptian-American myself, walking through the Brooklyn neighborhood is uncanny. On a side street, I was stopped in my tracks by a portrait of a fully uniformed Abdel Fattah El Sisi taped to a ground-level apartment window. He smiled at me from above the slogan تحيا مصر or "long live Egypt." This is a customary sight in, say, Cairo, where hanging posters of the president signals loyalty to the regime. But, such conspicuous expressions of Middle-Eastern patriotism are unexpected outside the region.

Where the leafy Bay Ridge side streets collide with Fifth Avenue, the residential swiftly melts into the commercial. Local businesses line the thoroughfare and a performance of sidewalk ballet unfurls as pedestrians run their errands and proprietors animatedly dap up their patrons.

One of the most notable Fifth Avenue staples is Balady Market. Palestinian-owned, it is the largest Halal grocery in the neighborhood. Inside, I was once again lifted from American soil and transported to the motherland. Gracing shelves is every food item evocative of my youthful Egyptian summers. At the entrance of the market, olives — some the size of golf balls — bathe in their brine. There is an aisle for all things pickled. Tightly-knotted balls of *majdouli* string cheese ornament the deli section. Near the checkout, steel cans of fava beans are carefully stacked ceiling-high.

The adjoining Balady Home and Décor store glitters with crystalline sconces, tasseled tea set, and intricately-engraved metallic tchotchkes. The establishment's sweet scent is redolent of the intergenerational apartment building that I spent much of my girlhood in — the aroma of peaches, amber, sandalwood, and home. When I told her how fragrant the shop smelled, the woman behind the counter beamed. "It's called *bakhoor*" she said, referencing the bricks of incense burning behind the register.

Down the block from Balady is another celebrated Bay Ridge spot — Al Aqsa Bakery & Restaurant. The business, named after the famed mosque in Old Jerusalem, is not subtle about its support of Palestine. The moment a customer crosses over the threshold, they are greeted by a shrine-like arrangement of Palestinian paraphernalia bedecked with keffiyehs, photos of the slain journalist Sherine Abu Akleh and fake golden scimitars.

The owner of the eatery is Mahmoud Kasim. As I waited to speak to him one day in mid-November, one of Al Aqsa's employees offered me a piece of falafel topped with hummus and sumac. I devoured the crispy snack — becoming more enamored with the explosive blend of flavors mingling on my tongue with each bite. After sampling the product, it was not hard to believe Kasim when he informed me that "the falafel are number one here. No one can compete with my falafel."

Kasim grew up in Jerusalem, moving to the United States in the summer of 1998. He attributes his falafel-making prowess to his first professional experience in the old city. "I worked at [a restaurant in] Bab al-Amoud… it's at the entrance of the Al-Aqsa [Mosque]. As soon as you enter Bab al-Amoud, to your left hand side, there's a guy called Abu Al-Abed. That's where I was working," he reminisced. Between chuckles he recounted being physically punished by his former employer if he underperformed on the job. "I appreciate him hitting me," averred Kasim. "Without that sting, I wouldn't be able to make my falafel the way I do today."

When asked about whether he views his restaurant as a way to uphold Palestinian culture, Kasim nodded his head vigorously. "You know, I'm gonna change the whole store to a Gaza theme. It's gonna be painted [to depict] what is happening in Gaza. That's gonna be there forever," he said.

Kasim's future redecoration plans as well as his current choice to exhibit pictures of the likes of jounalist Sherine Abu Akleh (who was killed my an Israeli sniper in 2021) indicate a belief that his establishment may serve as a site of memory — a way to preserve Palestinian heritage while reminding clientele of all that has already been lost.

Al Alqsa's openness to mixing business with politics was only further underscored when a Within Our Lifetime "Flood Brooklyn For Gaza" protest approached the restaurant from 86th Street. Upon catching a glimpse of the nearing crowd, kitchen staff began excitedly bellowing "وصلوا! وصلوا!" or "They arrived! They arrived!" This announcement launched Kasim into action; he began blasting Arabic protest songs from a speaker and nimbly tied a Palestinian flag around his head. As the sea of people marched past his storefront, Kasim cheered them on mightily.

However, not every Palestinian-owned business in the area shares the same proclivity for outward resistance. Just down the street from Al Aqsa Restaurant and Bakery is a nut roastery that prefers to remain more removed from the political sphere. "Of course, I love Palestine," noted the Ramallah-born salesman. "But, at the same time," he added, "I'm not gonna be pushing flags and agendas outside."

Aside from the mixed nuts, which the roastery reports to be its most popular product, gummy Turkish delights rolled in pistachio dust and rose petals form neat pyramids behind the display case. "We don't make the sweets here; they're imported," commented the salesman. While the establishment's goods are not all of Palestinian origin, ties to the country still appear in the roastery's understated interior. A wooden sculpture outlining Palestine's 1948 borders is stationed beside a bowl of fresh zaatar. An Arabic-language radio station broadcasts about the ongoing turmoil in Gaza, and mugs depicting scenes of Jerusalem are on sale.

The roastery, which asked *The Indypendent* to leave its business name out of the article, was clear that "everybody thinks of themselves in different ways," which may result in varying expressions of Palestinian identity. "I don't do this because I am Palestinian," said the salesman as he motioned to the trays of mixed nuts. "I just do what I know how to do," he shrugged.

A 20-minute walk from Al Aqsa Bakery & Restaurant and the roastery is Ayat — the Palestinian eatery that, despite being removed from the hustle and bustle of Fifth Avenue, is perhaps Bay Ridge's most well-known attraction. Ayat, which has appeared in the Michelin Guide and The New York Times, experienced a surge in attention after Israel began killing Gazans en masse in the wake of the Oct. 7 Hamas attack. Since war erupted in the region, the business was bombarded with a deluge of one-star online reviews from, according to owner Ayat Masoud, "people who we know for sure never visited this restaurant."

For one customer who asked to remain anonymous, supporting Ayat became a way to combat the bad ratings and exhibit solidarity with Palestine. "A place like Ayat needs to exist, because there's so many ways to show humanity, and food is one of those ways," she told *The Indy* as she waited for her to-go order of chicken shawarma and baba ghanoush. "There are a lot of things people don't understand. But, you can understand food. You can always connect with food," she said.

Evincing that people, whether Arab or not, can discover a sense of belonging in the streets of Bay Ridge, the customer explained that the Palestinian cause reminds her of her anti-colonial struggle back home. "I'm Puerto Rican," she declared proudly. "It's a joke in our community, like, you'll never have to ask someone if they're Puerto Rican because they'll tell you. But, I think that's a large part of the resistance — to keep the flag alive, to keep the food alive, to keep the language and the culture living"

OLGA FEDOROVA

OLGA FEDOROVA

BUILDING COMMUNITY: *Zein Rimawi, founder and president of An-Noor Social Center.*

MARCH FOR GAZA: *Thousands of local residents protested in Bay Ridge on Oct. 21.*

FOOD IS CULTURE: *Shopping for groceries at Balady, the largest Halal grocery in Bay Ridge.*

BAY RIDGE AS THE CENTER OF PALESTINE ORGANIZING

While Bay Ridge establishments may represent a physical manifestation of resistance — upholding Arab culture just by virtue of existing — there is also a long-standing activist ethos that pervades the community and has prompted popular organizing in response to the current Israeli assault on Gaza. One of the most vocal Bay Ridge groups is Within Our Lifetime (WOL), which Akl is affiliated with.

Right before his interview with *The Indy*, Akl was shouting chants into a bullhorn and handing out revolutionary stickers to the ballooning crowd of demonstrators. He, alongside one of WOL's founders, Nerdeen Kiswani, have become the de facto faces of the organization. Akl described the factors that pushed him to join WOL: "There was an activation in my liberation when I was chanting for Black Lives Matter; I realized that it was very much connected to Palestinian liberation."

Akl says that growing up, he went to pro-Palestine demonstrations in the neighborhood. He ascribes his Bay-Ridge upbringing to his earnest belief in the Palestinian cause. "I grew up here knowing that you will walk down the streets of Bay ridge and you will see Palestinian flags all over the place — you see stores written in Arabic and you feel that sense of home, that sense of community," he remarked. "People within the Arab diaspora really grew up knowing that Palestine needs to be free," he said.

One of WOL's defining features is its emphasis on the local. "It's important to have actions in the neighborhood where so many of us live," pointed out Kiswani. Akl agrees; "when we organize rallies in Bay Ridge, we are home."

"We know," he smiled, "that these streets are our streets."

After a day of reporting in Bay Ridge, I made the trek back to the subway — my backpack replete with *maamoul*, instant *koshary* cups, and buckets of labneh from Balady market. I knew instinctively that, once at the station, I would have to jam my keffiyeh into my already crowded bag. Because, outside of havens like Bay Ridge, it is dangerous to wear such a garment—and the consequences could very well be fatal.

But, the knowledge that just a train ride away, there is a little neighborhood that smells like my great-grandmother's living room, that tastes like my dining table, and is kind to me when I swaddle my neck in a keffiyeh, gives me solace. As Akl said, the people of Bay Ridge know that, "regardless of what happens, we will stand resilient," that, even in trying times like these, when we are stricken with grief, "We will emerge stronger than ever."

REBECCA CHOWDHURY

REBECCA CHOWDHURY

FROM NYC TO PALESTINE

GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS SPEAK OUT ON ISRAEL-GAZA WAR

By Rebecca Chowdhury

On a cloudy day in the Bronx, a group of high-school students marched down Fordham Road chanting, "Congress, Congress, you can't hide! You're supporting genocide!" As they walked under the train station, commuters stopped in their tracks to watch approximately 70 high-school students who walked out of class donning keffiyehs and posters with Palestinian flags. Some onlookers in this working-class Black and brown community even joined the march while others chanted in solidarity.

Afrin, a 17-year-old Bangladeshi high-school senior, organized the Nov. 9 walk out as part one of the global Shut it Down for Palestine days of protest calling on the Biden administration to demand a ceasefire in Gaza and to end all military aid to Israel.

A few weeks later, there was a week-long ceasefire before Israel's war on Gaza resumed with even more intensity than before. The death toll in Gaza is nearly 19,000 as *of Dec. 14*, with around 8,000 missing or trapped under the rubble (although it is becoming harder to accurately track the data, says the Gaza Health Ministry).

Working-class New Yorkers who normally lead protests and organize around local New York City issues are now joining the movement to free Palestine. They are drawing connections between their struggles and forging solidarity with Palestinians that face bombardment in Gaza and settler violence in the Occupied Territories.

"Our government doesn't care about democracy — they are making things worse for us," said Afrin, "Stop funding this genocide. That money is needed for us, for our education."

New York City has one of the most racially-segregated and unequal school systems in the country, which advocates fear will worsen under Mayor Adam's latest round of proposed budget cuts to the Department of Education (DOE). According to the Independent Budgeting Office (IBO) and DOE data, parent associations exacerbate these inequalities. Schools with wealthier parents are able to fundraise to provide field trips, teaching assistants, arts and music teachers, and after-school programs, whereas schools enrolling more students living in poverty receive significantly less funding and are often unable to offer arts and music classes as a result. The IBO found that parent-teacher association grants per school can range from $192 to $728,749.

"Schools like mine, we're struggling because we don't have resources for electives, clubs, sports materials, gym materials, badminton rackets or even enough teachers because we're so low staffed," said Afrin. At her high school, 83% of students live in poverty, and the PTA generated approximately $4,500 during the 2018-19 school year, according to the DOE.

TENANTS FOR PALESTINE

It's not only students who are speaking out against the genocide in Gaza. Tenants across the city are drawing connections with Palestinian liberation efforts. For example, members of Equality for Flatbush (E4F), a grassroots organization that fights police violence, displacement and gentrification, have attended Palestine protests across the city with posters declaring, "Black Lives for Palestine." The organization predominantly consists of Black Caribbean migrant women and according to a recent statement, the group "stands in solidarity with the people of Palestine as they fight for their liberation from a genocidal Zionist apartheid state... We know that there is no equal sign between oppressor and oppressed. No equal sign between landlords and tenants or BIPOC and the NYPD."

In Chinatown, tenants are speaking up. Liang Ming Xue is a member of CAAAV, which organizes Asian immigrant and working-class communities across the city towards racial, gender and economic justice and fights gentrification and displacement. Xue has been living in Chinatown for more than 20 years as a tenant and says he has consistently faced poor living conditions. The Asian and foreign-born population in the neighborhood continues to decrease as working-class tenants face evictions, displacement and rising rents, which they argue are due to the increasing number of luxury

apartment buildings in Chinatown.

While Xue, 70, has been unable to attend protests due to health concerns, he has been engaging in political education around Palestine with other CAAAV members. "Israel leverages the concept of terrorism to justify making war and to displace Palestinians from their homes in order to push for Zionism," Xue said in Mandarin. "If the construction of luxury towers continues, then the Chinatown we call home is actually emptied of its original residents who face total displacement, and isn't this a parallel to what Palestinian people are facing In their homeland?" Xue called on the government to redirect resources from Israel toward building deeply affordable housing and addressing the needs of working-class communities.

Pro-Palestine protests bring together New Yorkers across age, race and ethnic demographics. Even the flags at protests capture this diversity. A group of Peruvian immigrants proudly wave the Quechua Wiphala flag at protests, a symbol of the worldview and philosophy of indigenous groups across the Andean region.

"As Peruvians, if we're against land theft from indigenous communities in Peru, how can we not be against land theft in Palestine?" said Yanett R., 32, a member of Kallpawan, a Peruvian diaspora group, "It's so blatant, and we have the proof for it for many decades now."

Last year, there were widespread protests across Peru after the impeachment and arrest of the former President Pedro Castillo amidst widespread inequality. Peruvian authorities killed and attacked protesters targeting indigenous and rural farm workers according to Amnesty International. Kallpawan and other groups organized a vigil on Dec. 8 in Washington Square Park for the martyrs of Peru and Palestine while commemorating one year of the Boluarte dictatorship in Peru and two months of the ongoing genocide in Gaza.

In Queens, constituents of Congresswoman Grace Meng's gathered outside her office on Nov. 24. In an act of protest, they grieved the victims of the war in Palestine. They performed three distinct religious rituals capturing the diversity of Meng's district in Queens. An imam from a nearby mosque led a *janazah*, an Islamic funeral prayer; a rabbi led a mourner's Kaddish; and Mesita de la Memoria set up an altar for all of the deceased in Gaza.

THE USES OF GRIEF

"With grief, there's a sense of not accepting that life just goes on and continues and goes back to normal," said Milton, 39, a working-class constituent of Meng who attended the action. "Grief is a tool that allows you not to normalize this. Because right now, normalization really means being an accomplice to genocide, and I think people feel that in their gut."

Meng's constituents have been gathering outside her office to demand the congresswoman supports a ceasefire every Friday, but Meng has remained steadfast in providing unconditional aid to Israel. Her constituents have also created a petition, dropped a banner and created infographics publicizing that the largest contributor is the American Israel Public Affair Committee (AIPAC), which donated $82,250 to her campaign.

"Working-class politics depend on strong moral compasses about what it means to take care of each other," Milton explained. "AIPAC money is buying her silence and her silence is enabling the genocide to continue. If she wouldn't raise her voice about a genocide, how do we expect her to have any sense of what is right for working-class people?"

Working-class New Yorkers use protests to confront the silence of elected officials that ignore their demands. Fahmida, 14, a member of CAAAV, attended pro-Palestine protests in her neighborhood of Astoria, Queens as well as in Washington, D.C. "I felt that I actually had a voice for once and an opinion that mattered. It's ridiculous that instead of using billions of dollars to erase medical debt, student debt, build public parks and gardens, the government is using the money to kill innocent people," said Fahmida.

Pro-Palestine protests have shut down various parts of New York City over the past two months as groups like Within Our Lifetime and the Palestinian Youth Movement continue to flood the streets.

For long-term organizers like Sergio with NYC ICE Watch, it is important to balance supporting migrants navigating the city's byzantine shelter system and maintaining momentum in the fight for Palestine.

"It's easy for moments like these to tap an organizer's energy and attention instead of revitalizing it," Sergio said, "The goal is for every action to be generative — for every person that does an act, it should bring in more people so we are asking people who are activated by these recent protests to join us and stick around for the long term."

Afrin says there is no time to make excuses for inaction.

"We are living through this because when other genocides were happening, the adults in charge didn't do anything," she said, "so they're not used to speaking out for change or people's rights, and we shouldn't be like them. We should be used to speaking up, being uncomfortable and making other people uncomfortable as well."

MOBILIZED: *Community-based organizations including Desis Rising Up & Moving (DRUM) line up outside the Brooklyn Museum for a march against the war in Gaza.*

SOLIDARITY FROM THE ANDES: *Members of Kallpawan, a Peruvian immigrant group, march for Palestine.*

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ARMS ARE FOR LINKING

PROTESTS TARGET WEAPONS MANUFACTURERS WITH TIES TO ISRAEL

By Amba Guerguerian & Colin Monahan

LYSTRUP, Denmark — Early in the morning of Nov. 14, residents of this quiet suburb watched through the wind and rain as something out-of-the-ordinary happened on Hovmarken Road. Fifty anti-war protesters blocked the entrances to the corporate headquarters of the Terma Group, one of the Unites States' key partners in manufacturing the F-35 warplane, which is being used by Israel to rein bombs down on Gaza.

Mocking the company's slogan, the demonstrators wielded banners that read "Terma: Allies in Innovative War Crimes" and "Stop the Genocide".

"The world's biggest [non-nuclear] bomb was used several years ago in Afghanistan. They killed a whole village — children, elders, innocent women… I lost a lot of my family in the war in Afghanistan," Sohrab, an Afghan taxi driver who lives in the nearby city of Aarhus, said at the demonstration.

"Who is the victor here? It's those who are producing these weapons," Sohrab added. He initially passed by the demonstration on his daily taxi route. He later returned with thermoses of hot coffee and trays of cookies for the demonstrators. "If you are producing weapons that are killing innocent people, then you are as guilty as the people doing the killing," said Sohrab.

COORDINATION ACROSS BORDERS

The action against Terma that took place in Lystrup was part of a larger decentralized global movement that has been ignited by Israel's genocidal assault on Gaza. The movement uses direct action to disrupt sites with links to arms manufacturers who supply weapons to Israel.

This marks the first time a furor of such militant action has been carried out on this large of a scale and by this many groups. However, blockades and other forms of direct action in opposition to the Israeli occupation of Palestine are not new. Since Zionist incursions began more than 100 years ago, there has been mass organized action against it in Palestine and the greater Arab world.

On Dec. 6 and 7, the Danish coalition that shut down the Terma Group three weeks earlier coordinated with activists to stage synchronized actions in Copenhagen, Netherlands, Scotland, France and the UK, specifically targeting weapon's manufacturing offices and plants. The rapid growth of disruptive protests in Denmark have been catalyzed by an Oct. 16 call by the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions to "halt the sale and funding of arms to Israel — and related military research."

At the Lystrup protest, David, a stateless Palestinian living in Denmark, said, "Being here means demanding human rights, here in Europe and all over the world. As Palestinians we haven't had our human rights for over 75 years. ... My parents, grandparents, and I have lived in 15 different countries. We have never had the opportunity to have a passport or citizenship in any of these countries. My passport says I am stateless."

Palestinians constitute the world's most extensive stateless community. As of 2018, of the 13 million Palestinians worldwide, nearly 8.7 million have been forcibly displaced. Many of the protests calling for a ceasefire in Gaza, and before Oct. 7 for Palestinian freedom more broadly, are being organized by Palestinian diaspora responding to calls coming from Palestinians living in Palestine.

In the UK, Palestine Action, which organizes protests targeting Elbit Systems, Israel's largest arms manufacturer, has already made progress. The group forced the closure of Elbit's head office in London and the cancellation of contracts between the UK Ministry of Defence and Elbit systems. And the sole recruitment firm for the British operations of Elbit said in an email to Palestine Action that they ended their association with Elbit On Nov. 29, says Palestine Action.

Elbit makes several weapons for Israel including bullets, tear gas and 85% of the drones used by the Israeli army, so with the goal of putting Elbit's UK arm out of business, Palestine Action's work is far from finished.

The group was co-founded in 2020 by Richard Barnard and Huda Ammori, a Palestinian living in London. "There wasn't a democratic process in this country when it came to Palestine," Ammori told *Open Democracy* in November. "Direct action was the only route left."

Ammori said previous tactics she'd tried, such as writing to elected officials, signing petitions and campaigning for divestment were ineffective due to an "institutional unwillingness" to accept the realities of the occupation in Palestine. "I was focusing on institutional complicity — things like university investments and public-fund investments. I truly did believe that that would work."

Since armed Israeli settlers began increasing their attacks early this year on Palestinians living on the Occupied West Bank, Palestine Action has been pushing an uptick in action.

The "Elbit Eight," a group of Palestine Action activists including the two founders, are on trial for burglary, criminal damage and blackmail, pertaining to various actions carried out before October.

On Dec. 21, the verdict for the Elbit eight will be released. Coinciding with that, Palestine Action is calling for a global day of action against Elbit. This call is being bolstered by the U.S. arm of Palestine Action, which formed in mid-October.

Co-founder of Palestine Action US Fergie Chambers was already friends with a member of the UK branch. "We had the link to the organizing going on in the UK. We knew for a long time that Elbit was present in the US in New England, in Cambridge, but the pieces hadn't really been put together. And perhaps the mass political moment wasn't there in this country," Chambers told *The Real News Network*.

Palestine Action US first targeted Elbit's Innovation Center in Cambridge, Mass., on Oct. 12, blocking the entrance and coating it in red paint. The center has been targeted multiple times since then. The group has also led direct actions against Elbit in various cities including Boston; Boca Raton, Fla.; Roanoke, Va. and Merrimack, N.H.

AN EXPANSIVE NETWORK

Actions are being carried out beyond the auspices of Palestine Action or the coalitions targeting Terma. In the first week of November, peace activists in Oakland, Calif., and in Tacoma, Wash., temporarily blocked ships carrying weapons for Israel. On Dec. 7, Activists from the group Stop Arming Israel France blocked the entrance to the offices of Exxelia, a company that manufactures components for Israeli missiles.

Action under the auspices of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement that came out of Palestine two decades ago — divestment from the Israeli arms trade being one of its goals — has also seen an uptick since Oct. 7. Puma, which has been the sponsor of the Israeli soccer team since 2018, dropped its sponsorship in a major BDS win. The United Auto Workers has called for a ceasefire and pledged to look into their economic ties with Israel. And in the UK on Dec. 8, 89% of Queen's University Belfast student union voted for a position that called for divestment from military and colonial projects and the ending

of all ties with arms firms. The motion also called for the removal of Hillary Clinton as chancellor.

On Oct. 27, over 1,000 union members with Workers for a Free Palestine blockaded four weapons factories in the UK that supply components for the F-35 fighter jet. "Our movement is growing rapidly and gaining more momentum each day," Jenny, a trade unionist at the action, told *Middle East Eye*. "We are escalating our tactics, and today's blockades are seeing unprecedented numbers of people take part."

On Nov. 9 and 10, trade unionists across six countries and three continents blocked the flow of weapons to Israel. Kayed Awad, secretary-general of the Palestinian Transport Workers Union saluted the actions of solidarity, saying, "Unions have the power to influence and disrupt the arms trade and ongoing war crimes in Gaza. Long live the working class."

Although it is not a grassroots group, Yemen's Houthi movement portrays a similar militancy. In protest of the situation in Palestine, the Houthis on Dec. 9 promised to target all ships heading to Israel regardless of their nationality. As a result, westbound ships have had to circumvent the Red Sea and travel all the way around Africa to get to Israel.

FROM PROTESTS TO STRIKES

There has also been a global outpouring of massive protests, with groups of tens and even hundreds of thousands marching in the world's largest cities since Hamas' Oct. 7 attack on southern Israel. From Oct. 7–27, at least 4,200 actions for Gaza took place across the world, according to Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project. Since then, protests have continued steadily, on track with Israel's amassing of war crimes.

South Africans marched in Johannesburg on Nov. 29, shutting down the Nelson Mandela Bridge. On Dec. 2, the group Armenian Nonviolence staged an action in Queens, New York. And on Dec. 8, the town of Guernica, Spain, held a solidarity action calling for the ending of the genocide in Gaza. In Cuba, President Miguel Días-Canel led a protest of thousands along Havana's iconic Malecón on Nov. 24 demanding an end to the assault on Gaza.

The largest concentration of protest has been in countries throughout the Middle East, with demonstrations occurring despite authoritarian governments. A spontaneous rally was even held in Cairo's Tahrir Square (a central site of the Arab Spring) which resulted in 200 protesters being arrested.

The Brooklyn-based, Palestinian-founded group Within Our Lifetime Palestine (WOL) — which has already led more than 30 disruptive marches around New York City, almost always attended by thousands of protesters — has been organizing in coalition with Palestine Action. WOL has released maps depicting clusters in Manhattan and Downtown Brooklyn of locations with close ties to Israel. Since the group released the maps, their network of members and followers have organized direct actions at some of the pinpointed places.

The anti-Zionist group Jewish Voice for Peace has been organizing shut-down protests at various key locations across the country, such as the Bay Bridge from Oakland into San Francisco, on Capitol Hill, and in New York City at Grand Central Station and the Statue of Liberty.

In Washington, D.C., on Dec. 11, 18 elderly Jewish women were arrested after chaining themselves to the fence in front of the White House, demanding President Biden support a ceasefire. The protesters read the names of Palestinians killed by Israel since Oct. 7 as a part of a one-day global strike for Palestine.

The strike call was announced by Palestinian National and Islamic forces, a coalition of major Palestinian factions, in response to the U.S. veto of the United Nations Security Council's 14-1 vote in favor of a ceasefire in Gaza. Leaders of pro-Palestine movements directed people to take the day off from work, to avoid spending money and to participate in protests.

There was scattered participation around the world. More than 270 businesses closed in Detroit. Here in New York City, Balady grocery store in Bay Ridge, Duzan restaurant in Astoria and Fulton Mini Mall in Bed-Stuy were among those that closed their doors in solidarity. The one-day strike was most fully realized in the Occupied West Bank, where businesses, schools, government offices, universities, banks, factories and public-transportation companies all participated.

Instagrammer Shlomo Yitzchak @shlomoyitz promotes direct action against Israel and its allies. On the eve of the strike, he said in a reel, "We first tried with protests, which is really important when a government listens. Unfortunately, the governments we live under are not listening to our demands. ... Direct-action campaigns are not about outsourcing our power and asking the governments that represent us to act on our behalf; rather, direct action is saying, 'If you are not going to listen to us, we collectively are going to step into our power together and use mass non-violence to force change.' That is what's happening right now."

Another one-day global strike call has been announced for Monday, Dec. 18.

STOP THE KILLING: *Danish protesters block the entrance to the headquarters of the Terma Group, which helps produce the F-35 warplane.*

MUTUAL AID: *Sohrab, a taxi driver who fled the U.S. war in Afghanistan, brings food and drink to the protesters.*

TOM WILLIAMS

HIT LIST: *Rep. Jamaal Bowman (D-NY) is one of the members of the Squad that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee is ready spend tens of millions of dollars to defeat in the 2024 election cycle.*

AIPAC VS THE SQUAD

By John Tarleton

When Bernie Sanders shocked the world by winning 13 million votes in his 2016 presidential run, Democratic Party leaders assured everyone who would listen that it was a fluke. The aging socialist's pied piper-like appeal, it was said, only extended to "Bernie Bros" — i.e. disenchanted young white males easily carried away with lofty ideas of how the world could change for the better.

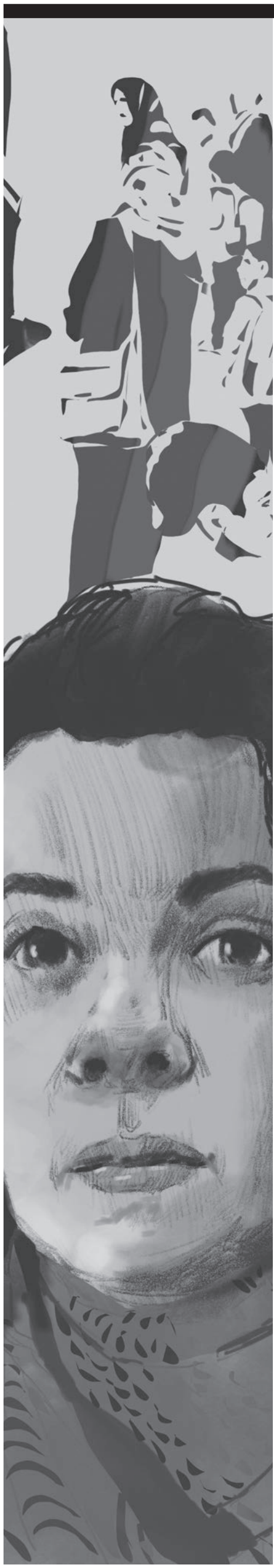
Then in June 2018, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a former Bernie organizer, knocked off Rep. Joe Crowley in a Queens-Bronx congressional district. Ocasio-Cortez ran as a democratic socialist on a platform of Medicare-for-All and a Green New Deal. The "King of Queens" was expected to someday succeed Nancy Pelosi as House Speaker. Instead, he was sent packing by the youngest woman ever elected to the House of Representatives. Later that summer, Ayanna Pressley beat a 10-term incumbent in Boston, and Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar won open seats in Detroit and Minneapolis. Born was the Squad, an informal group of leftwing legislators backed by legions of small dollar donors who rose to power without the blessing of the party establishment. They were joined in 2020 by Cori Bush and Jamaal Bowman, who knocked off longtime incumbents in the St. Louis and the New York City suburbs respectively. In 2022, they were joined by Summer Lee from Pittsburgh.

Since taking office, Ocasio-Cortez has popularized the Green New Deal. Bush shamed the Biden administration into extending a nationwide rent moratorium during the pandemic. Tlaib has been a passionate voice for Palestinian rights, while Omar, a former Somali war refugee, has been a breath of fresh air on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The social-media savvy Squad has punched above its weight. It's also badly outnumbered. Some on the left have questioned how much value there is in holding a handful of Congressional seats. In November, they got their answer: the American Israel Public Affairs Committee was prepared to spend, according to news reports, upwards of $100 million to defeat members of The Squad in the 2024 Democratic primaries. The Squad's early calls for a permanent ceasefire in Gaza was the final straw for AIPAC's wealthy donors, many of whom are Trump supporters.

AIPAC-backed primary challengers have already been found to run against Bowman, Bush, Lee and Omar. Two Michigan Democrats have reported receiving phone calls from individuals promising on behalf of AIPAC to deliver $20 million to their campaign coffers, if they would primary Tlaib. Neither accepted.

As *The Indy* goes to press, it remains unclear whether AIPAC will bankroll challengers to Ocasio-Cortez and Pressley. In 2024, the biggest electoral battle of the year after the presidential race will be the struggle by Bernie's political heirs to maintain a foothold in Congress. They will do so while confronting the perfect symbol of a system that privileges big money over everything else.



ESTEBAN GUERRA

LOOKING BACK ON ALMOST 20 YEARS OF BDS

By Amba Guerguerian

"The BDS movement kind of works as an umbrella organization, to provide guidelines, resources, liaisons and support, but not to delineate exactly what everybody should be doing," says Riham Barghouti.

Barghouti's family has participated in resistance against the occupation of Palestine since the late 1800s. In 1948, her family was exiled from the Palestinian village of Safad. Barghouti grew up in New York, but has maintained close ties with Palestine. She lived there from 1995 to 2005, and was a founding member of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS).

At the time that the official BDS call that was issued in 2005, 170 civil society organizations had signed on to it, representing all sectors of Palestinian people: In Gaza, the West Bank and Israel proper, but also Palestinian refugee organizations working in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria at the time.

This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

THE INDYPENDENT: Why are Palestinians so active?

RIHAM BARGHOUTI: People that are oppressed will always struggle for liberty. It's an inherent need; it's like water; it is like air. You can only subjugate a people for so long before they rise up. There's a continuous uprising; people can only bear the brunt of oppression for so long before something gives.

Tell us about the founding of BDS.

This builds off a long history of Arab boycott and Palestinian boycott against Israeli products and against companies that are profiting from Israel. As far back as 1936, during the Arab revolt against the colonization of Palestine, there were massive boycotts, refusal to engage with the British mandate authorities and so on, moving through to the First Intifada (1987–1993), where Palestinians burned their ID cards as an attempt to boycott the whole military civil administration, refused to work within that administration and began to boycott Israeli products.

When the BDS call was issued in 2005, we really built on grassroots organizing that was already happening on the ground. And we were — at the university I was working at in Palestine at the time — being devastated by the impact of the Israeli incursion into the West Bank, the closures, checkpoints, killing, injuring, land confiscation, expansion of settlements and so on.

In launching BDS, we provided a tool for people of conscience worldwide to mobilize and organize to sever ties with state, corporate and institutional bodies complicit in profiting from and maintaining the Israeli settler-colonial apartheid regime. The demands are very clear: end the occupation of all Arab lands, which includes the West Bank, Gaza, and the occupied Golan Heights; end the apartheid regime that exists inside Israel — so providing full equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel; and most importantly, because they compromise the largest portion of our population, is an implementation of the Palestinian refugees right of return to their home, their homelands.

Those are our goals. The way to get there is using the tool of boycott, in addition to other forms of resistance. It doesn't undermine any other form of resistance that Palestinian people are using, and can use, and should be able to use in order to reach those aims.

What kind of successes has the movement seen?

From the onset, the idea was to find targets that made sense, make it something that you can create benchmarks and winnable kinds of components of your campaign, and identify very creative actions that can then pull in community and get media coverage.

For example, in 2006 Adalah-NY began organizing around Africa-Israel, an Israeli diamond-mining company that was mining diamonds in Namibia and building settlements in Palestine. Lev Leviev, the owner of Africa-Israel, was opening a diamond store in Manhattan at the time. And it just made sense. It wasn't part of a global BDS campaign yet, but it was a New York City hook. Eleven years later, the campaign succeeded in shutting down the store, and that loss of business led to the company declaring it will stop building settlements in 2014.

We've had city councils that withdrew contracts, local and community groups would remove their funds from these companies, you had apartheid-free zones in Italy that would no longer do business with companies that were profiting from the occupation. Then there's academic boycott, with several academic associations having signed onto the divestment call. And there is the cultural component, with a number of cultural workers refusing to perform in Israel.

Just some actions taken in protest of the Israeli genocidal attacks on Gaza since Oct. 7 are the United Auto Workers calling for a ceasefire and pledging to look into their economic ties with Israel, the dock workers in Barcelona and Italy refusing to handle cargo and weapons bound for Israel and major trade unions in Belgium refusing to transport weapons to Israel.

The current war on Gaza has galvanized long-standing Arab boycott campaigns with U.S. companies that seemingly support Israel suffering huge losses, such as Starbucks losing $11 billion dollars in worth. In Egypt and Jordan, businesses like McDonalds and Dominoes are reportedly empty. And most recently, Puma dropped its contract with the Israeli Football Association, after a five-year BDS campaign, within which athletes and football clubs around the world ended their ties to the global sportswear manufacturer.

Compare the BDS movement to the South African boycott movement.

The South African call for boycott began in the 1950s. And it took a lot of time for people to accept it and to begin to work on it. Now, in relation, the Palestinian boycott call has progressed seemingly much quicker. But of course, we have social media and ways of reaching communication that weren't available, then.

Where we have more of a problem is that the interests of the U.S. and Israel are so strongly aligned. And it's multifaceted: There is the Christian Zionist belief system, in terms of the need for Jews to return to the Holy Land. You have the economic ties that are very strong. You have the military-industrial complex. You have geopolitical interests because for a while it was the only pro-US body in the Arab world — although that has changed significantly — but it's always been seen as the only by-product of the colonial system that still exists in the Arab world.

How do you address the criticism that BDS is anti-Semitic because it targets Israel?

Israel is attempting to make anti-Zionism and anti-Israel activism the same as anti-semitism. And it's a false conflation. Anti-semitism is a very real and dangerous form of hatred and discrimination against the Jewish people based on racist values, while anti Zionism is an opposition to an illegal, immoral and apartheid regime that currently exists in Israel.

Jews and Jewish activists here in the U.S. and around the world are a part of this BDS movement. And they've been an amazing part; they showed some of the most powerful and inspiring actions, especially during the current Israeli war on Palestine.

How does what happens in Palestine affect the rest of us?

What's playing out right now in Gaza — the fighting that's taking place with the Israeli attacks and the Palestinian resistance to those attacks — is part of a much larger struggle in the region. And that's why it also could be potentially so hopeful, because a war is being played out in Palestine. And that war is connected to the United States, to Russia, China, Iran, Hezbollah — global interests. The event of a liberated Palestinian people will have a huge impact on the Arab world and on the global south. And if a successful genocide of the Palestinian people is allowed to continue, it will have a huge impact on the way that other oppressed people are going to fare.

You can listen to the full interview at soundcloud.com/the-indypendent/riham-barghouti-qa.

MOHAMMED SALEM

RUINS: *One fifth of all buildings in the Gaza Strip were destroyed or damaged during the first two months of the war.*

THE SECOND NAKBA

ISRAEL IS ERASING EVERYTHING THAT MAKES GAZA FEEL LIKE HOME

By Amba Guerguerian

Since Oct. 7, around half of the buildings in northern Gaza have been destroyed or damaged. In the before and after photos, the sky looks the same, but that's about it.

Remember this city is at the heart of history, and has already been under a fierce occupation for decades, so Gaza has had many structures in it, and already had many new structures replacing old ones, already had bombed-out buildings and rubble. But now, much of that which was rebuilt, times over, has been obliterated.

Gaza, located at the crossroads of Africa and Asia, has been at the heart of many battles. It has spoken a variety languages, practiced a variety of religions, has been destroyed, abandoned and reinvigorated many times. During the early Bronze Age, before Egypt's upper and lower kingdoms were unified, the pharaohs constructed the first fortified Egyptian citadel outside of Egypt in Gaza, which was home to people called the Canaanites at the time. Later, Gaza was a bustling port of trade under the Greeks. Greek historian Herodotus described Gaza, which he referred to by the name of Cadytis, as a large metropole with development extending inland beyond the city walls. Some who found themselves in control of Gaza let old structures stand, others adapted them, yet others destroyed them. Before the majority of its inhabitants converted to Islam in the seventh century, the city saw peaceful coexistence by Pagans, Christians and Jews under certain rulers, but the groups also battled for control. In 66 AD, when Jewish people were massacred in nearby Caesarea by the Romans, the Jews of Gaza responded by rioting and destroying much of the city and its surrounding villages in retaliation.

In the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza and many other famous scholars taught at Gaza's academy of rhetoric and a school dedicated to mosaic art was founded in Gaza. Around 635 AD, the Muslim armies took the city from the Romans. Gaza played an important role in trade during the Middle Ages, particularly under the Mamluks. Even during its long period of Muslim rule, it was besieged multiple times by the Crusaders, who were once and for all driven out by Saladin in 1178. It witnessed a golden age under the Ottoman-appointed Ridwan dynasty in the 1500s, and Palestinian economy in general underwent significant development from the mid-1700s through the late 1800s under the Ottomans.

Gaza experienced destructive earthquakes in 1903 and 1914. And in 1917, during World War I, British forces captured the city from the crumbling Ottoman empire. Since then, its fate has been controlled by Western interests. Recent photography shows entire blocks in northern Gaza with every building on them collapsed. Some of those located most lucratively have already been fully razed. What will they do with all the rubble?

Inside of each destroyed building, many rooms, and inside of each room, the fostering of Palestinian life. The war on Gaza is making so many martyrs and also killing culture — decimating the structures that gave Gazans a sense of identity, a sense of time.

One of the remaining Gazan journalists, Bisan Owda, posted an Instagram story on Nov. 29 during the week-long pause in Israel's genocide. "I lost the hope of a ceasefire; I lost the hope of returning to the north," she said. "But if that happened, what are we gonna do? Clean? Clean what? Rebuild? Rebuild what? There is no city. … Every place we loved, every place we memorized, the full image about our city and our life is now totally changed forever… forever, even the mentality of people, even how are they thinking, their way of living, their memories. They are reshaping our history, our society, by destroying everything. … What is gonna happen? What's next? … What am I going to do with my life?"

I feel a calm sense of longing when I think about what Gaza used to be. When my grandmother was 14, she went with her mother on a school trip from Alexandria to Gaza. They visited her father's cousin. He had a house on the ocean. "I knew he was rich, because he had what we didn't," she told me.

My grandmother and great-grandmother shopped at the American stores (which didn't exist in Egypt at the time) and bought lace tablecloths made by the local women. What a delicate thing to get from Gaza. That was just 12 years after the Nakba, in 1960, so they also went to see a refugee camp.

"There were a lot of people, white tents," said Teta. Many of those tents would eventually be replaced with structures, and those camps would become neighborhoods.

Around that time, Teta had a different Palestinian cousin who came to Alexandria to study (because Palestinians in the Gaza strip could study in Egyptian public schools for free until Gaza and Sinai were annexed from Egypt by Israel in the 1967 war). "My cousin was telling me, they would get up on top of buildings, and they could see their old houses, and they regretted leaving them."

Old structures empower and glue communities. Structures themselves retain life, energy, memory. They morph. A place has a feeling. In an old place, you can feel all the centuries or millennia of life that's been through it, and it's instructive, because you then can place yourself in that history.

I'm thinking of Gaza and all the childrens' rooms that were destroyed, the women's closets. The embroidery that exploded. The tiles of the mosques.

In some cases, structures have already been bulldozed, cleared to make way for new real estate. In other cases, occupation soldiers have seized them. They've begun to use dead and exiled Gazans' items as their own, to rewrite history.

Currently Israel flags whip through Gazan winds, standing on posts that triumphantly rape the earth they've been thrust into.

"I think they want Gaza, because Gaza is beautiful, oh my God, the beaches are so beautiful, *helwa awi*," says my Teta on the phone a couple weeks into the bombing. "And I think Israel knew about the attack before it happened," she adds; her friend Bara'a told her and she agrees.

I think about the blue sky and the buildings in Gaza and the roads that arch right into the ocean and sky and the fences and the bombs that are leaving so many limbs on the ground. I think about Gaza and I think about the blue skies and the bombs pouring out of them.

Saint Porphyrius, built in about 1150, is the oldest church still in use in Gaza. Located in a historic neighborhood in Gaza City, in the north, the church offered sanctuary to people of various faiths over generations. An Israeli strike hit the church on Oct. 20, killing at least 18 people who were sheltering there. The explosion damaged the church's facade and caused a nearby building to collapse.

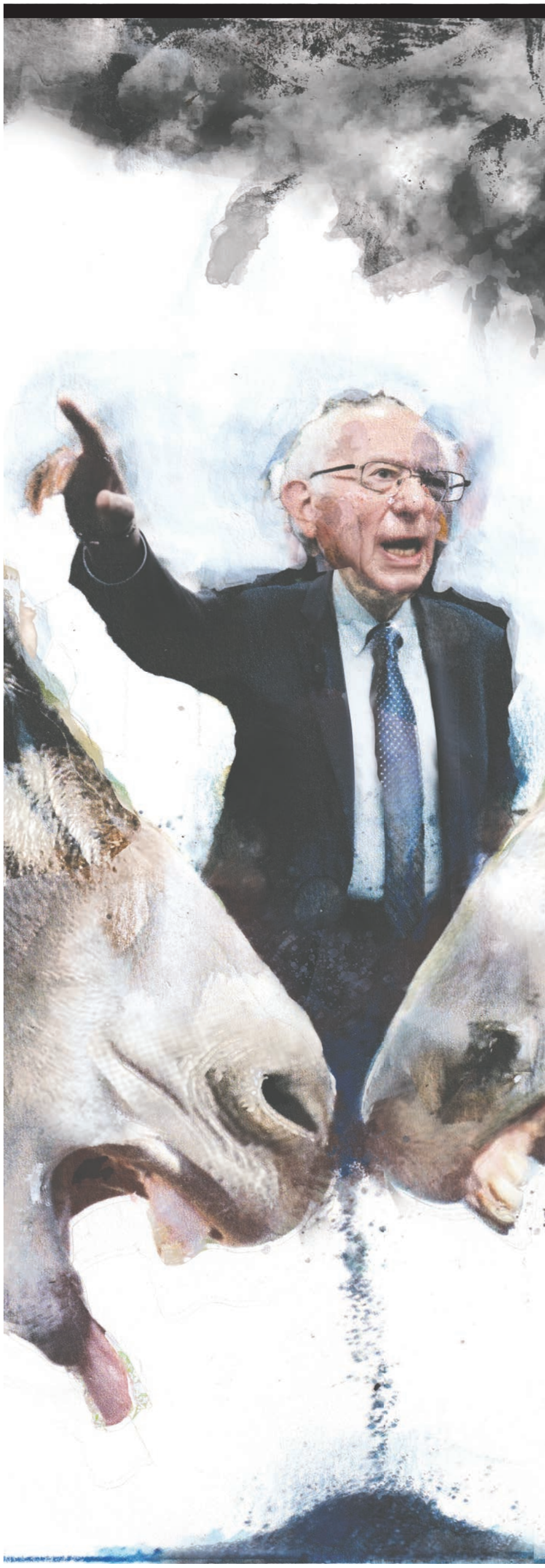
The Omari Mosque, or the Great Mosque, is the oldest standing mosque in Gaza. After it was built in the seventh century, the Crusaders converted it to a cathedral. According to Gazan historian Rania Filfil, "Over the following centuries it switched between mosque and church, inscribing thus the history of its city in architecture."

"The basilica of the cathedral remains today in the Great Omari Mosque in Gaza's old city, despite the massive damage that the mosque sustained during World War I," Filfil wrote in 2009. Then, in 2014 Israel bombed the structure, and did so again on Dec. 8, leaving it a skeleton of itself.

I think about Gaza and I think about blue skies and sand and kites. I think about Gaza on Dec. 8, 1987, when people poured out of its barriers and began the First Intifada, a popular uprising.

I picture Gaza and I picture families sitting on top of rubble — shreds of fabric and parcels of kitchenware, the ashes of rec-

Continued on page 22



DAVID HOLLENBACH

BEYOND BERNIE

HIS FAILURE TO SUPPORT A GAZA CEASEFIRE ISN'T THE ONLY REASON TO LET GO

By Nicholas Powers

Sen. Bernie Sanders gave me the "ick." If you don't know, the ick is when you desire someone, ravishingly, and they do that one thing that turns you off. Maybe it's bad breath. Maybe it's toe fungus or too many needy texts. In Bernie's case it was waffling on the mass murder of innocent children. Ick.

I have not "canceled" Bernie. Or condemned Bernie. He is a decent man. He has deep political experience plus populist support built over decades. For years, Bernie was a North Star guiding activists from sectarian exile. All that being said, the preeminent role he played in the left is over. Time to let go.

Even so, the left must keep the lesson he gave on how to build a mass movement in order to seize state power.

HEART BREAK BEAT

Imagine holding a photo of Bernie as Boyz II Men's "It's So Hard to Say Goodbye" plays. You tell him, thank you for believing in me. You wish him the best. Light the photo on fire and fling it.

Essentially that is what happened when on CNN's Nov. 5 State of the Union, Bernie said, "I don't know how you can have a ceasefire, a permanent ceasefire, with an organization like Hamas, which is dedicated to turmoil and chaos and destroying the state of Israel." By the time of that interview, the Israeli government, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, had killed 10,000 Gazans, many women and children in what can now be called a crime against humanity. As this newspaper goes to press, it's nearly 19,000. By the time you read this essay, the number will be higher. The innocents in Gaza join the roughly 1,200 Israeli citizens, also innocent, slaughtered by Hamas on Oct. 7.

Bernie's statement did not go over well. Fair to say people screamed at their cell phones. Prof. Cornel West called it "pathetic." Briahna Joy Gray, his former press secretary and host of *Bad Faith* podcast, said it was the "biggest political disappointment of our generation." Left media was on fire. CNN moderates rejoiced at having Bernie, of all people, to use as a cudgel to browbeat progressives. Ick.

To be fair, the man called for a humanitarian pause, permanent peace and a two-state solution. He opposed an additional $10 billion in military aid to Israel, saying, "What the Netanyahu government is doing is immoral, it is in violation of international law, and the United States should not be complicit in those actions." So, he did not transform into a butcher, wiping his apron with the blood of children.

The anger at his response comes from simple questions. Who is going to die when that humanitarian pause ends? More innocent people. If every member of Hamas must be killed before the bombing stops then how does this lead to peace or even that policy unicorn, a two-state solution? It doesn't.

Bernie's call for a humanitarian pause instead of a ceasefire is in sharp contrast to other activists like Jewish Voices for Peace. It is the largest Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States, and calls for the end to Israeli apartheid. They filled Grand Central Station in black shirts that read "Not in Our Name", thunderously chanting against the siege of Gaza. They took over the Statue of Liberty, creating an event that rippled through the news in which they demanded a stop to the killing of Palestinians.

The future can be seen in protests. Millennials and Gen Z fill the anti-Zionist marches in Bay Ridge, over the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges. Hundreds of actions supporting Palestine pop across the world from Egypt to Ireland. As the left moves forward, Bernie shrinks in the rear-view mirror.

KIBBUTZ MON AMOUR

Remember the 1971 song "Thin Line Between Love and Hate" by the Persuaders? Well the left crossed that line. Or more accurately, it stepped over the line separating the Bernie we wanted to see versus the Bernie that actually exists. The position he always held was that Israel has a right to exist and defend itself while the occupation of Palestinians must end and a two-state solution be made real.

What you have to grasp is that the reasons the left swooned over Bernie but repudiates him now are connected. His defense of Israel and his economic populism are two sides of the same coin. The Bernie we know; finger waving, white tousled hair like a Muppet, deep Brooklyn accent and scourge of the 1 percent, has his origins, decades earlier, in Yiddish Socialism of the Lower East Side and the Israeli kibbutz. In 1963, Bernie worked a few months at Kibbutz Sha'ar Ha'amakim as a part of a socialist youth movement that was Zionist and secular. Without pretending to be telepathic, one can guess that a young man of the left does not just up and fly across the Atlantic Ocean to Israel unless he had hoped to find there the living embodiment of a vision. He searched for the seed of a workers' democracy, however small, in the daily sweaty labor, the communal living and discipline. He left after a few months but the dream he searched for in the kibbutz, whether he found it there or not, became one of the main pillars of his political world view. Workers make the world, often at great risk and deserve dignity for their labor. Bernie would not be Bernie if not for Israel.

Again, the reason the left tried to put a ring on Bernie is connected to his Jewish heritage. He said in an interview with NPR, "When I was a young boy, I can remember seeing people in the community who had numbers that were on their arms." He added, "It was a very traumatic experience for me as a young man to know that my father's family were killed by Nazis, killed by Hitler. … We have got to do everything we can to end this kind of horrific racism or anti-Semitism. I have spent much of my life trying to fight that." Bernie saw how hatred transformed human beings into targets. It drove him to join the civil-rights movement and fight anti-Black racism. So however much BLM activists chided his class determinism and ham-fisted use of new social justice rhetoric, he was sincere.

How does one make sense of this? Look in the mirror. Everyone I know has a powerful attachment to a specific place, person or people

that challenges their political ideals. Poets have an easier time with this. Walt Whitman famously said, "I contain multitudes". It is true. I do. You do. Bernie does. We all do. It is the price of being human.

The real question is not the banal one of betrayal. In the backlash to his refusal to call for a ceasefire is the plaintive, "How could he betray his own principles?" No, the real question is why the disproportionate hurt and anger? Why are we so hung up?

HOW TO BREAK UP

Bernie rescued us. For years, the left was like an emo-teen, wearing Goth makeup and singing "I Want to Know What Love Is" by Foreigner on repeat. We were divided by sectarian fights over minor ideological differences. We were in our Oppression Olympics phase. We were a hot mess.

And then came this rumpled man. He announced his 2016 presidential run at a quick press conference before lunch. It was so unassuming, so Bernie. The more he talked, the more we listened. The great transference began. The left's suppressed hope for relevance was projected onto an elderly Vermont senator. In contrast to Obama's Hollywood flashiness, Bernie wore Men's Wearhouse suits. He radiated authenticity. He had shouted the same economic populist message for longer than many of us had been alive.

Bernie got the left closer to the White House than it had ever been. In 2016 and then in 2020, he barnstormed across the nation. When he rose, our hopes rose too. A giddy, delirious joy made us drunk. Universal healthcare? Yes. Student loan forgiveness? Yes. A Green New Deal? Sure.

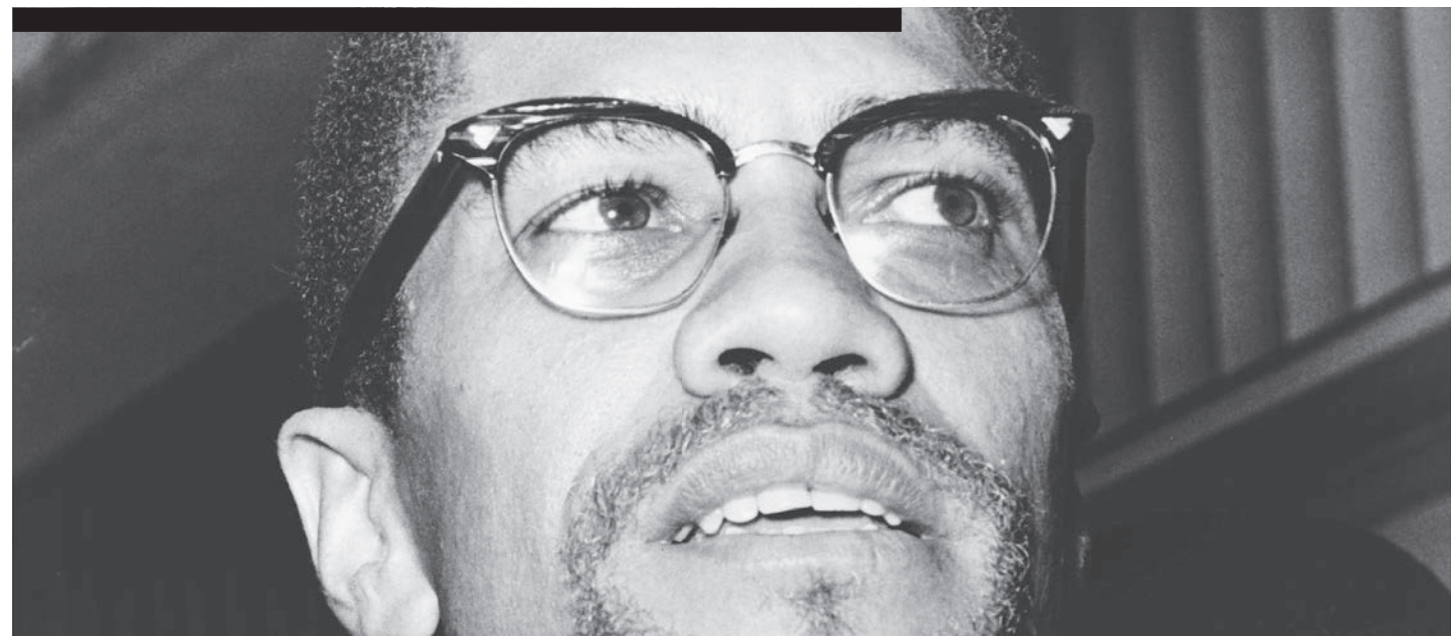
Bernie showed us that left policies had mass appeal. His campaigns put Democratic Socialism on the map. He played a vital historical role at a crucial moment. He might have put us in a position to save democracy and the planet. But now it is time to let go.

At 82, Bernie is not going to run for president again. He remains relevant, yes, but the halcyon days are over. It is larger than his refusal to call for a ceasefire. It is the inexorable passage of time. We have to fall in love with someone new or some new idea.

So here's the most compassionate way to do it.

1. ***Pick a nice setting. Maybe his favorite restaurant.***
2. ***Accept it is going to be painful.***
3. ***Show up sober.***
4. ***Deliver the news face-to-face.***
5. ***Listen.***
6. ***Don't leave things open ended.***

When you finish, go have a good cry. Take a walk and breathe. If it helps, know that a lot of love is the transference of repressed hopes. When you are blinded by the glow of a new political figure or movement, remember, you may be falling in love with your alienated dreams. And that's okay.



HERMAN HILLER/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

MARKED MAN: *Malcolm X in front of the Queens Courthouse in 1964, one year before his assassination.*

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

NEW LAWSUIT POINTS TO UNTAPPED SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT FBI ROLE IN HIS ASSASSINATION

By Theodore Hamm

A recently-filed $40 million lawsuit on behalf of Muhammad Aziz, who was exonerated two years ago for the 1965 murder of Malcolm X, puts the spotlight on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.

Beyond simply examining the bureau's role in X's murder, Aziz's legal team seeks to expose the "pattern and practice" of the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO program of the civil rights-Black Power era. In so doing, the filing illustrates a notable shift in the historical understanding of the assassination, with the FBI replacing another government entity that many observers originally viewed as the main culprit.

As described by Aziz's lead attorney David Shanies in the filing, COINTELPRO aimed to "disrupt" and "instigate violence" in order to "destroy groups or enemies perceived to be threats to the status quo, including the Nation of Islam, the Black Panthers, and other Black activist organizations."

Before he left office at the end of 2021, then-Manhattan DA Cy Vance, Jr. initiated the exoneration of both Aziz and the late Khalil Islam, two of the three men convicted for the murder of Malcolm X. During its review of the case, Vance's office uncovered a substantial amount of exculpatory information withheld by the FBI at the time of the trial in 1966.

Hoover and his deputies appeared determined to protect William Bradley, known as William 25X, one of the five men from the Newark mosque of the Nation of Islam that carried out the murder at the Audubon Ballroom. According to the current filing, the FBI did not inform the Manhattan DA's office that at least two witnesses described a gunman who appeared to be Bradley.

Aziz's lawsuit names 19 FBI officials involved in the incident, investigation and cover-up, including Hoover as well as another familiar name in the organization, Mark Felt. The bureau's Chief Inspector at the time of Malcolm's murder, Felt later became the main source of leaks in the Watergate scandal. So much for law enforcement heroes.

The filing also questions the extent of Bradley's relationship with the FBI. He had been on the bureau's radar for at least two years prior to the assassination. Four years after X's murder, Bradley participated in an armed bank robbery in Livingston, New Jersey. Although his accomplice got 25 years, Bradley went free after the Department of Justice intervened.

After uncovering Bradley's FBI connections over a decade ago, independent researcher Abdur-Rahman Muhammad shared his findings with the late Columbia University professor Manning Marable. The allegation that Bradley may have been an informant at the time of the 1965 murder surfaced in Marable's landmark 2011 biography of X. Muhammad repeats that charge in *Who Killed Malcolm X?*, the 2020 Netflix series that prompted Vance's office to open its investigation.

In order to illustrate the pattern of COINTELPRO operations, Aziz's complaint details the FBI's role in the cases of Black Panther leaders Geronimo Pratt and Fred Hampton. It also addresses the bureau's use of informants in prosecuting members of the American Indian Movement after a 1973 armed siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The filing then cites a Massachusetts case from the late 1960s in which the FBI's reliance on a mafia informant led to the wrongful conviction of four men.

"This is the boldest and most audacious effort yet to determine the nature and extent of the FBI's role in the assassination of Malcolm X," says attorney Ron Kuby, whose mentor William Kunstler represented Aziz in the 1970s. "I wish Bill Kunstler were here to see it."

Shanies tells *The Indypendent* that in the best-case scenario, the Department of Justice will begin the discovery phase of the case in about three months. The worst-case scenario, of course, is that government lawyers will drag it out for years. "It will be interesting to see the Biden administration's response," adds Kuby.

FBI OR CIA?

Given the role played by the bureau in the murder of Fred Hampton and frame-up of Geronimo Pratt, it seems highly plausible that the FBI helped orchestrate Malcolm X's assassination. But for decades after the murder, many of X's associates believed that the CIA was chiefly responsible.

Louis Lomax, a leading Black journalist in the civil rights era, speculated about the agency's role in his 1968 book *To Kill a Black Man: The Shocking Parallel Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.* After his pivotal trip to Mecca in the spring of 1964, X began to work closely with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and other anti-colonial leaders. "It was at this point that the CIA began to take an active interest in Malcolm's activities," Lomax wrote.

In a 1963 work about Elijah Muhammad, Lomax had identified John Ali, the Nation of Islam's national secretary, as an FBI informant. In *To Kill a Black Man*, Lomax repeated the charge, detailing his own fear of Ali. In the book's conclusion Lomax nevertheless stated, "I am convinced that the American government, particularly the CIA, was deeply involved in Malcolm's death."

In the early 1970s, Peter Goldman's *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* came out. Goldman, a *Newsweek* reporter, spoke to many people in X's circles. Writing in *The New York Times* Book Review, critic Orde Coombs observed that Goldman "knows that many [of Malcolm's supporters] believe that the CIA had something to do with the assassination of this Black hero."

A half-century later, the FBI's role in the murder may fully come to light. Whether we learn of any CIA involvement remains to be seen.

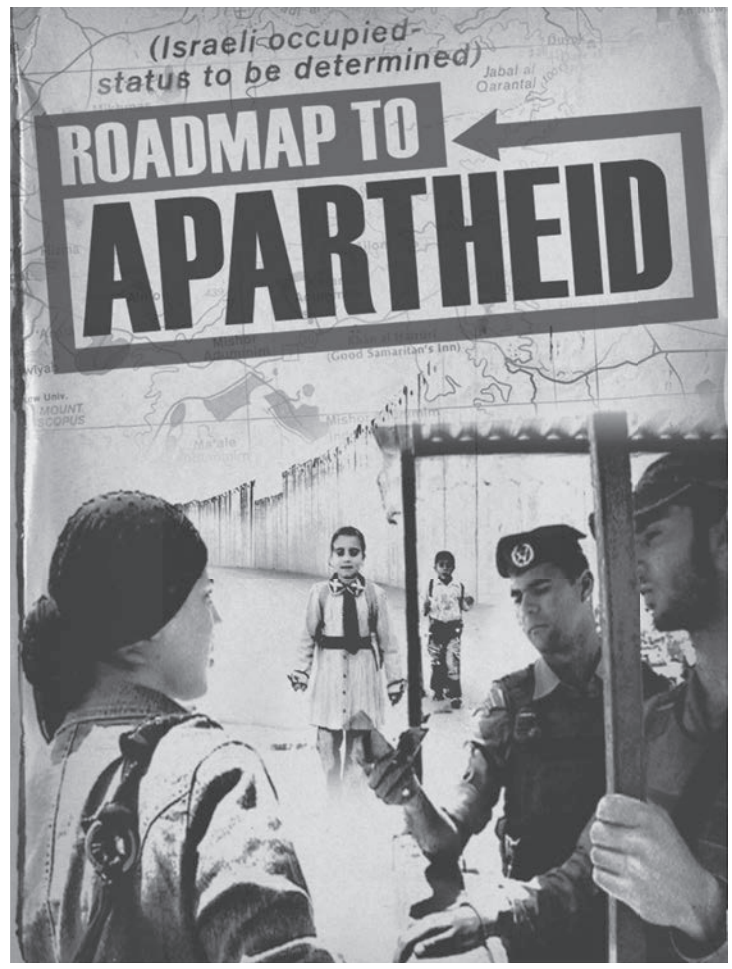
LIFE UNDER APARTHEID, ISRAEL & SOUTH AFRICA

Roadmap to Apartheid
Directed by Ana Noguera & Eron Davidson
Narrated by Alice Walker
Journeyman Pictures, Ubuntu Films, 2012, 96 minutes

Review by Eleanor J. Bader

When Hamas entered Israel on Oct. 7, most mainstream media outlets described the well-orchestrated massacre as an unprovoked assault on innocent kibbutzniks and concert goers. This, of course, ignored the context of the horrific carnage — Israel's 75-year history of dispossession, deprivation and violence against the millions of Palestinians who live in the Holy Land.

Roadmap to Apartheid, an 11-year-old film, is an instructive and timely corrective. The film juxtaposes the reality of life in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza with the apartheid regime that existed in South Africa between 1948 and 1994. In the latter case, white Afrikaners exerted complete economic, political, and social control over the country's majority-Black population and suppressed resistance by every means they had. But neither mass incarceration nor the creation of separate townships for the disenfranchised were able to keep world opinion from seeing the evils of apartheid; in the end, international boycotts, divestment and sanctions turned the tide from acceptance of white supremacy to support for Black freedom.



The parallels with Israel are unmistakable. And while the film could have interrogated anti-Semitism and the reasons Zionists want a homeland in the Middle East more thoroughly, it otherwise provides a cogent overview of the region and the political turmoil that has roiled it for more than seven decades.

As the film unfolds, viewers see the ways in which Zionism has twisted the desire for a safe haven for Jews into a catastrophe for Palestinians, with home demolitions, a denial of electricity, clean water, work permits and medical care used as weapons to weaken the Arab population. What's more, checkpoints that stall traffic and limit travel, along with separate roads for Jews and Palestinians, make clear why unequal governance has sparked Palestinian rebellion and triggered long-standing violence.

Indeed, *Roadmap to Apartheid*'s filming of daily indignities is gut-wrenching, exposing the overt brutality of Israeli Defense Force soldiers — many of them teenagers — including random ID checks and car searches that often turn into shouting or shoving matches. This is then compared with the free movement of Jewish settlers who are able to go wherever they please, whenever they please.

As former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (who served as PM from 1974-1977 and from 1992-1995) told reporters nearly 30 years ago, the goal was — and remains — to force Palestinians to "voluntarily" leave Gaza and the West Bank.

Needless to say, that plan has fallen flat. In fact, as the film reports, Israeli oppression has done the opposite, instead serving as a catalyst for Palestinian resistance. Israeli peace activist Jeff Halpern tells the filmmakers a fact that illustrates this reality: Fifty-five percent of suicide bombers turned to violence after their homes were demolished by the IDF, a grim statistic that underscores the futility of refusing to broker coexistence.

Coexistence, however, remains elusive, perhaps even more so now than when *Roadmap to Apartheid* was first released. Nonetheless, world events are often unpredictable. After all, apartheid's downfall came fairly quickly once an international movement came together to isolate the country, an outcome that many believe will also befall Israel.

Perhaps it will. Time will tell if Palestine will be free or if the fear of complete annihilation will force both Israelis and Palestinians to find a way to live together. Like the anti-apartheid movement of the 1990s, people the world over are demanding change, in this case a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas and an end to the carnage that is taking place in Gaza. Moreover, they are demanding a negotiated settlement that will provide safety and security to the region.

Unfortunately, *Roadmap to Apartheid* does not offer a roadmap to peace in the Middle East. But it does show the power of mass mobilizations and international solidarity to pressure governments to cede power and right wrongs. *Inshallah*, the cries and protests of today's peace movement will lead to lasting justice for both Israelis and Palestinians. *Inshallah*, the cycle of death, property destruction, environmental calamity and torment will end, and nations will finally turn swords into plowshares, making war no more.

Available to rent or buy on Prime Video. Available for free on youtube.com.

SECOND NAKBA

Continued from page 19

ipe books and family heirlooms fluttering about — their rubble, inside of their homes. Rubble has become a character of life in Gaza. I picture families in Gaza sitting in the frames of their homes on top of the rubble that once was their lives. And they will begin, as groups of helpers amass, to remove the rubble, old sinks and walls and memories, and to reconstruct their homes. I saw a picture the other day of a woman sitting on a mattress on a pile of rubble in the bombed-out frame of her home with her baby on her lap and a clothesline hung behind them. The significance of the clothesline gave the immense sense that she had reclaimed her home. The caption read, "despite the destruction of our home, my baby, we will return and rebuild it again!"

In another recent photo by Palestinian journalist Motaz Azaiza, a man's hand sticks out of the rubble. Right out of his reach, a fresh tea bag hangs, crushed between two pieces of concrete. The caption reads, "Israel must be proud about their speed to kill, they can do it before a cup of tea is ready."

Israel has destroyed Gaza's main courthouse, legislative building and dozens of other centers of administration. The municipality headquarters, located in the center of the old city, stored historical archives more than 150 years old, which, according to The New Arab, "held key documentation of the city's urban development, including mapping engineering studies of the water and sewage networks." Gaza's central library has also been bombed. The Islamic University of Gaza, an independent Palestinian university established in 1978 in Gaza City, was the first institution of higher education to be established in Gaza. On Oct. 11, Israel bombed four of its buildings, completely destroying some.

Imagine a bomb hitting a library. Books, some older than the occupation itself, will burst into a million pieces, broken sentences and punctuation marks floating to the ground. Or a music classroom or recording studio. The metal of the doumbeks will melt; the strings of the ouds will scream and pop.

Imagine a room full of old women gathering to mourn and the bomb hits, and because they died so abruptly those elders' oral histories that their relatives hadn't yet recorded are gone. Open mouths shattered into the air, whispers amongst the rubble.

I picture Gaza and I picture birds flying in the sky, light falling through leaves in a courtyard before a cloud floats by. I picture the roots of the olive trees talking to each other. I picture my grandmother laying on the beach.

I picture a blue sky over Gaza before the occupation began and Gazans bustling around their alleys and mosques and churches and synagogues and I hear the oud and I can smell the falafel and the conversations drifting out of coffee cups and banging around on the architecture of the buildings that had been around for centuries already and now are rubble.

REVEREND BILLY'S REVELATIONS

Dear Rev,
The new climate agreement in Dubai. They say that there is hope. But we have been burned so often. What's your take on it? Can we relax a little bit?

— DARLENE

Dear Darlene,
The oil barons are doing with superstorms and wildfires what the Israelis are doing with American bombs. COP28 makes you wonder, do the super-rich believe that they can steer the planet's heat itself? Yes, they are climate-makers now, which must be something like being God.

It's a sort of science-fiction logic. They believe that their pollution keeps the indigenous people of the Global South down. "Keep 'em busy with those disasters and droughts and starvation, and then give 'em enough of a reparation allowance that their governments look like they're trying." While up North they flood themselves with orgasmic hallucinations of wealth.

Well, Darlene, COP28 does send me off into surreal flights. But when I discovered that Prime Minister Netanyahu was siphoning money to Hamas so that our tax money was shooting from both sides, I start seeing manipulative dramas everywhere.

The petro states and the corporate CEOs believe that the destruction descending on the poor in the South is their arrangement with the natural world. The Great Stall (the first COP was in 1995) has worked so far. Oil industry profits in 2022 were an astronomical $4 Trillion. It's hard to exaggerate the dominant presence of the Oilies. There were 2,500 of them registered at COP28, representing annual profits larger than the total revenue of the Chinese government. How does a Pacific island drowning from sea-rise negotiate with that?

Once again, as in the 27 previous climate negotiations called COPs, the delegates were fed those mushy promises. COP28 publicity hacks called the agreement "unprecedented," but they say that every year. The "Net Zero Emissions by 2050" — the fake goal that leaves the horror to the young and the unborn — that's still the single material fact of all this, and the deadly nature of it fits nicely with the thousands of dead and dying children In Gaza.

If the oil people believe that the Earth is operating on a schedule that they can predict, and even direct, then... Well what *do* they believe? The answer is nothing. They are zombie junkies. Making money is their drug of choice, creating so much of it that they preside over the Earth from a second layer of supergovernment. Planet Oil.

This current toxic wealth surge will get them a few years of triumphant quarterly reports. But if the Earth needs to act out later — what then? Is their hubris so extreme that they believe they can bribe the Sixth Mass Extinction? Well Darlene, we need to thank the suits for throwing us that rhetorical bone, "transition out of fossil fuels." What a great phrase! We'll try to save the children with it.

The Earth will win! Earthalujah!

— BILLY

REVEREND BILLY TALEN IS THE PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF STOP SHOPPING. HAVE A QUESTION FOR THE REVEREND? EMAIL REVBILLY@REVBILLY.COM AND UNBURDEN YOUR SOUL.

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BREAD + PUPPET
CIRCUS: DEC 6-10 WEDS. to SAT. 8PM, SAT & SUN 3PM
MOTHER DIRT MASS: DEC 14-17 THURS. to SAT. 8PM, SAT.- SUN. 3PM
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THEATER FOR THE NEW CITY

THE INDYPENDENT

THE INDYPENDENT is an absolutely unique voice in New York City — providing bold, original reporting and analysis of struggles for justice here and beyond.

In 2023, we continued publishing our print edition while expanding our online presence and hosted a weekly, one-hour prime-time radio show on WBAI. We look forward to continuing to do more great work in 2024. But, we need the support of our readers more than ever.

With your help, we can provide more incisive coverage of more movements, print and distribute more papers, build a more dynamic online presence, and train more up-and-coming progressive journalists.

To keep THE INDY going strong, we need to raise $50,000 during our annual winter fund drive. If we don't reach our goal, we could falter just as a new year begins.

PLEASE GIVE TODAY.

Whether you can give $27, $50, $100, $500, $1,000 or more, it all helps.

IN SOLIDARITY,

THE INDYPENDENT TEAM

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